THE RELIGION
OF IUPPITER DOLICHENUS
IN THE ROMAN ARMY

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

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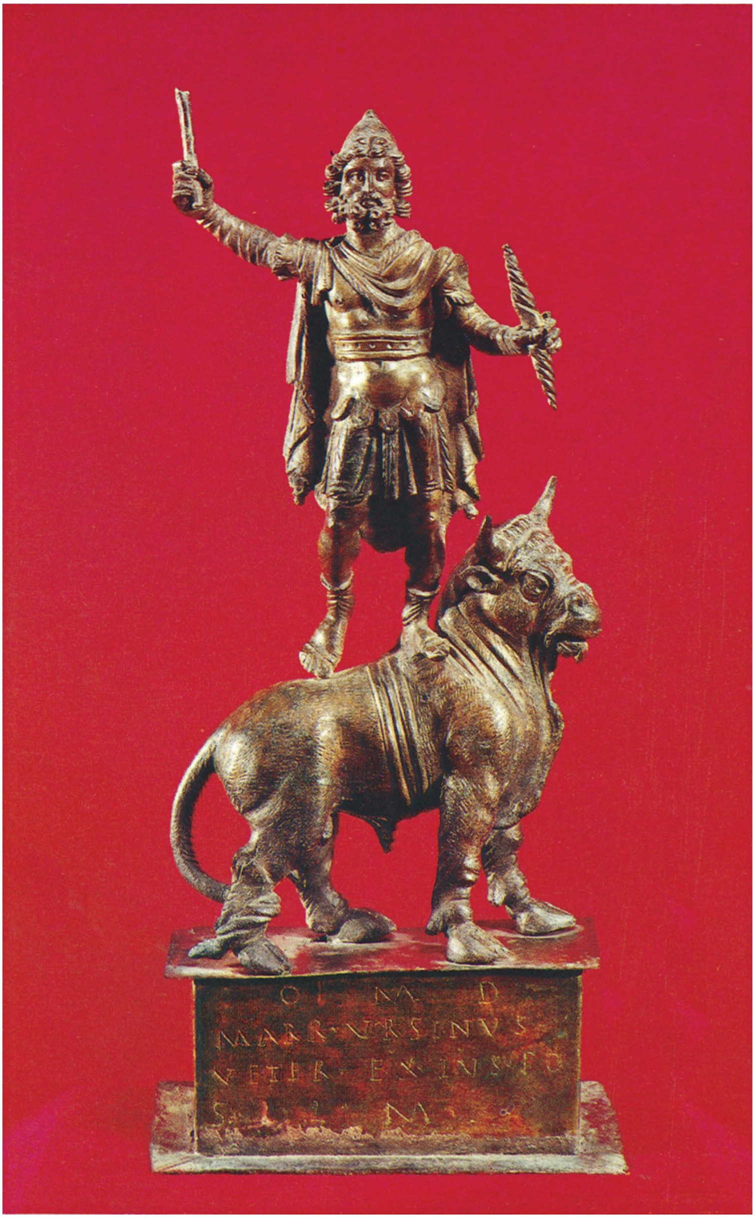
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Bronze statuette of Iuppiter Dolichenus from
Mauer-an-der-Url/Noricum

MICHAEL P. SPEIDEL

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE, A MAP AND 24 PLATES

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ISBN 90 04 05398 0

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To

MARGRIT SPEIDEL,

fascinated by the future
(which is the past)

CONTENTS

Foreword IX

1. Introduction 1
2. The Spread of the Iuppiter Dolichenus Cult in the Army . 4
3. The Votive Reliefs of the Equites Singulares Augusti . . . 12
4. The Dolichenus Temple of the Imperial Cavalry Guard . . 19
5. The Dolichenian Pantheon I: Apollo and Diana 21
6. The Dolichenian Pantheon II: The Invincible Sun and the Moon Goddess 25
7. The Dolichenian Pantheon III: The Unity of the Cult . . 33
8. A Military Religion? 38
9. Priests of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army . . . 46
10. Cult Standards and Military Standards 55
11. Official Policy towards the Cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus . . 64
12. The End of the Cult 72
13. Conclusion 76

Abbreviations 78

Bibliography 79

Index 87

List of Figures 91

Figures 1-24 and Map

FOREWORD

Of the oriental religions that swept across the Roman empire as forerunners of Christianity, the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus was, together with Mithraism, the most successful in the Roman army. It may thus reveal something of the spirit of an army that was as multinational and multicultural as it was loyal, disciplined and efficient. The hope of gaining insight into the spirit of such an army and the spell of a powerful, mysterious religion prompted this study.

In the pursuit of this work some of Europe's finest institutions granted their help: museums that not only submit their treasures to the eye of the visitor but are even ready to supply photographs and information to an inquirer on the far side of the globe. Such were the Stadtmuseum / Aschaffenburg, the Muzeul de Istorie / Alba Iulia, the Antikenmuseum / Berlin, the Rijksmuseum / Leiden, the British Museum / London, the Landesmuseum / Stuttgart, the Kunsthistorisches Museum / Vienna, the Wiesbaden Museum, the Widin Museum, and in this country the Yale University Art Gallery. Particular thanks for valuable help and support are due to Professor A. Mócsy / Budapest, to Professor R. Noll / Vienna, to Dr. H. Sichtermann of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut / Rome, to Dr. H. Ubl / Vienna, and to Professor M. Vermaseren / Amsterdam. The latter's series of Preliminary Studies on the Oriental Religions in the Roman Empire is the prime mover for a growing recognition of the true importance of these cults in the unfolding of Western civilization.

Mt. Tantalus Summer 1976
Honolulu

1. INTRODUCTION

Gottes ist der Orient
Gottes ist der Okzident.
Sura 2:115

On the stony hill of Dülük-Baba, near the town of Doliche, the Hittite storm god miraculously survived the millennia. Commagene, his native country between the Taurus mountains and the Euphrates river, unlike the great centers of world civilization was inward turned, not radiating its achievements. Hence, from the Late Hittite period to the beginning of our era nothing is heard of the god. But when the Romans annexed Syria in 64 B.C., Doliche's Iuppiter began to conquer the conquerors.

Since the night of times the storm god had been standing on a bull, grasping double ax and thunderbolt, wearing the 'Phrygian' cap and a sword, thus uniting upon himself the symbols of power, both of nature and of society. In the Hellenistic age he had donned the royal cuirass. Now, like other Syrian Baals, he acquired the name of Rome's supreme god, *Iuppiter optimus maximus*. What oracles he gave, what pacts he concluded, and what changes he decreed in ritual and doctrine remains unknown,—but already in Hadrian's reign Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, the god 'from where the iron grows', appears as the lord of a major religion of the Roman Empire.[1]

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[1] All aspects of the Dolichenus cult and its history are excellently described by Merlat (1951 and 1960). Merlat supersedes almost all earlier literature which is cited in this study only when its results are still used in current works. A new collection of the documents is announced in the EPRO series which is why no complete collection is presented here. For new evidence accrued since Merlat's collection see below, note 119. A fine description of the site of Doliche and its more recent history is given by Cumont (1917) 173-202. For an excellent pictorial dossier on Commagene and new material and studies on the history of the country see Dörner (1975), esp. fig. 102 with a new, early relief of Iuppiter Dolichenus and fig. 114 with part of the geison, perhaps from the main temple at Doliche. For other Syrian Baals adopting the name of *Iuppiter optimus maximus* see Wissowa (1912) 362 f.: the change in name itself, therefore, does not prove a thorough Romanization or particular success in the army, contra: Schwertheim, (1974) 313. At times the god is simply called Iuppiter Dolichenus without the *optimus maximus*, even on later monuments (e.g. M 335 of A.D. 194).

More than sixteen temples of the god have been excavated in three continents. Over 250 inscribed monuments of his cult, mostly altars, have come to light from one end of the empire to the other. Senators, governors, traders, and soldiers, all are known among his worshippers. Intricate works of art reveal the visions he called forth in his devotees.—What beliefs and rituals attracted so many followers to this god? How did his cult become so widespread among soldiers? Was Iuppiter Dolichenus indeed the tutelary deity of the Roman army? Was his cult propagated by the emperor and the higher officers? Questions more easily raised than answered.

Dedications from the civilian Dolichenum on the Aventine hill in Rome call the god 'preserver of all the firmament', *conservator totius poli.*[2] Clearly, he was a supreme sky god. Yet the liturgical literature of his cult is lost and with it the key for our understanding it. Whatever can now be known about the cult's ritual and doctrine and its success in the army must be gleaned from inscriptions, statues, and reliefs extracted from the destroyed temples in such far flung places as Britain, Germany, Italy, the Danubian countries, Syria, Palestine and North Africa, and it does not yet add up to a fully understandable picture of the cult.

A new study of these art works and inscriptions, however, promises to contribute further insights into the Dolichenian religion and its reciprocal relation with the Roman army. As an added result, our understanding of some of the extant monuments may be improved.[3] To be sure, our sources being very far from adequate —even though new ones come to light every year—the present study can be no more than an *étude préliminaire* and will not reveal all the cult's hidden meaning. Yet it may lead a step closer to it by an inquiry into the Dolichenian pantheon, by a new look at the cult's presumed military characteristics, by a study of its oriental cult standards, and by an assessment of the spread, the official support, and the sudden end of this still so largely mysterious religion.

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[2] **21**. See also p. 77 and Speidel (1978).

[3] New readings of inscriptions: CIL VI, 31181 and 31187 = **15** & **17**; CIL XIII, 6623 = **7**; CIL XIII, 11781 = **8**. New dates for monuments: **16**; **23**; **28**; **52**; **53**; M 70 (note 207); M 205 and 206 (note 245).

Moreover, a recent find has come to shed light on the beginning of the Dolichenus cult in the army. The official seal of Doliche (fig. 24) portrays the god with pointed hat, sword, and double ax, clasping hands with a Roman *imperator* holding a scepter. The inscription reads Δολιχαίων, ἔτους δ', 'Doliche, year four'. The seal seems to date to the period from Pompey to Augustus which makes it the earliest known document of the Dolichenus cult in the empire.[3a] The gesture of clasping hands (δεξιώσις) over an altar proclaims either an alliance between the god and the Roman High Command, or the acceptance of the *imperator* into the worship of the god. Obviously, a seal with this message could be devised by the city of Doliche only if the *imperator* had made a political or religious gesture towards the sanctuary. The exact meaning of that gesture remains unknown, but the sanctuary regarded it as of the highest significance, commemorating it on the town's seal and reckoning a new era from then on. The cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus, it follows, owed part of its success to a prominently advertised alliance between the god and the *imperator*, a pact that very likely marks the beginning of the religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman army.

[3a] For the seal and its date see H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27, 1950, 49-50 and 1970, 93. Incorrect: IGL Syr. 189 and Merlat (1960) 1 and 3 n. 6. For a second seal, perhaps of Vespasianic date, showing the god in a less pleading stance, see Schwartz (1962). Oriental religions spread in the Roman army already under Augustus: see the Sabazios hand from the legionary camp of Dangstetten, Fingerlin (1970/71), 212.

2. THE SPREAD OF THE IUPPITER DOLICHENUS CULT IN THE ARMY

The earliest known document of the Dolichenian religion outside Commagene is a military one: a building inscription of a temple to Iuppiter Dolichenus at Lambaesis in Africa, dedicated by the commander of the legion there in A.D. 125/126: [4]

> **1** *Pro s[alute] et incolumitate imp(eratoris) Cae[s(aris) Traia]ni Hadriani Augusti, Sex(tus) Iuli[us Maio]r, legatus ipsius pro praetore, templu[m I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D]olicheno dedicavit.*

It is a remarkable coincidence that the earliest reliably dated Mithraic monument belongs to the same decade and mentions the priesthood of a governor of Lower Moesia,[5] for the two cults thus had very similar beginnings in the West,—if it is true that western Mithraism originated in Cilicia, i.e. in the country adjoining Commagene,[6] and that it was accepted into the empire at the time when Pompey subdued the Cilician pirates in 67 B.C.[7] Apparently both cults expanded into the empire when their homeland was annexed and both came out into the open—according to our present state of knowledge—during the third decade of the second century, both at first in high ranking military or gubernatorial circles. Not all of this is sheer coincidence, for the two monuments show, each in its way, that the 'new' oriental religions now enjoyed the active support of the provincial governors and thus had found suitable conditions to expand and make converts in the army and the administration. Both used these conditions energetically, for other monuments follow closely thereafter.

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[4] CIL VIII, 2680 = 18221 = Dessau 4311a = M 286, see below, p. 66 f. For the date see Thomasson (1972) *Numidia*.

[5] CIMRM 2296 (Histria): Τύχηι ἀγαθῆι 'Ηλίωι Μίθρα(ι) ἀνεικήτω(ι) ἐπὶ ἱε[ρ]έω 'Ιουλίου Σεουήρο[υ] ὑπατικοῦ κτλ. For the correct reading and the date see A. Stein (1940) 66, who is right to point out that Iulius Severus was governor, not *beneficiarius*. The remarks of Schwertheim (1974) 269 ff. to the effect that Mithraism in Germany began already in the first century A.D. are not convincing: men of units stationed on the *limes* could easily come to Heddernheim, the principal settlement in the area and make dedications there, as Schönberger (1973) points out; while Schwertheim's number 91 needs not refer to *cohors Ituraeorum* at all, perhaps the letters in question read *tur(mae)*.

[6] Thus Will (1955) 163 ff.

[7] Plutarch, *Pompey*, 24.

The extent to which the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus spread in the Roman army can be gauged from the dedications erected to the god by entire units. Such dedications are rather rare for oriental gods, except where they are the home gods (*dii patrii*) of the units, and they are entirely lacking for Mithras who was worshipped by select groups of initiates in secret rites underground.[8] By contrast, the number of corporate dedications to Iuppiter Dolichenus is quite sizable.[9]

Detachment of the Misenum fleet at Ostia in A.D. 186:
Right half of a stone plaque [10]

2 [*Adnuent*]*e imp*(*eratore*) *Caes*(*are*) *Com*[*modo Antonino*] *Pio Felice sacr*(*um*) *qu*(*od*) [*vov*(*erant*) *I*(*ovi*) *o*(*ptimo*)] *m*(*aximo*) *Dulic*(*eno*) *milit*(*es*) *cl*(*assis*) [*pr*(*aetoriae*) *Mis*(*enensis*) *cum es*]*sent Ostia sub*[*cura—*]*ti Iusti tr*(*ierarchi*) *VII id*(*us*) [—*Com*]*modo Aug*(*usto*) *V co*(*n*)*s*(*ule*) [*sub sacerdote*] *Ter*(*entio?*) *Prisco.*

Cohors I Cretum in Upper Moesia:
Bronze tablet (*tabula ansata*) of unknown date from Egeta.[11]

3 *I*(*ovi*) *o*(*ptimo*) *m*(*aximo*) *Dolicheni* (sic) *c*(*o*)*hor*(*s*) *I Cretu*(*m*).

Cohors II Raetorum in Upper Germany:
Altar from castellum Saalburg [12]

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[8] See below, note 110.

[9] To the following list one might add a *collegius* (sic!) *veteranorum* and the 2 *signiferi* of *legio III Augusta* '*cum adiutoribus suis*' who made dedications to Iuppiter Dolichenus, cf. M. 249 and M. 289, perhaps also RIB 1896 of *cohors I Aelia Dacorum*, but there the reference to Iuppiter Dolichenus is not above suspicion. For officers making dedications to the god see below, pp. 66 ff.

[10] CIL XIV, 110 = M 264.

[11] AE 1968, 453.

[12] CIL XIII, 7457 a & b = M 327 = Schwertheim (1974), 52 c.

4 *I(ovi) [o(ptimo) m(aximo)] Do[lich]eno [sacru]m, coh(ors) [II Raet]or(um) cui [praeest—*

Cohors I Aquitanorum in Upper Germany:
Altar from castellum Stockstadt [13]

5 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno, coh(ors) I Aquit(anorum) vet(erana) eq(uitata) cui praeest T(itus) Fabius Liberalis praef(ectus), v(otum) s(olvit) l(aeta) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Detachments of legio XXII primigenia from Mogontiacum in Upper Germany, cutting wood east of the Rhine:
Altar from castellum Obernburg of A.D. 206 [14]

6 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolichen(o) pr[o] salute dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum) vexill(atio) leg(ionis) XXII p(rimigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) agent(ium) in lignar(iis) sub Clod(io) Caerellio 7(centurione) leg(ionis) I Part(hicae) curam agent(e) Maior(io) Urbano optione, [A]lb[ino] et Aemil[iano] co(n)s(ulibus).*

Altar from castellum Obernburg of A.D. 207 [15]

7 *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno s(acrum) vexil(latio) leg(ionis) XXII pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) agentium in lignariis sub principe T(ito) Volusinio Sabino et T(ito) Honoratio Dentiliano opt(ione), Apro et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus).*

Altar from castellum Stockstadt of A.D. 214 [16]

8 *In [h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)] I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) [Dolich]eno ve[xil(latio) leg(ionis) XXII] pr(imigeniae) Ant[-oninianae] p(iae) f(idelis) agen[t(ium) in li-]gna(riis) s(ub)*

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[13] CIL XIII, 11780 = M 303 = Schwertheim (1974) 118 a.

[14] Nesselhauf-Lieb (1960) 151.

[15] CIL XIII, 6623 = M 300 = Schwertheim (1974) 133 a. Read *principe,* not *princip(ibus)* or *principp(alibus).*

[16] CIL XIII, 11781 = M 304 = Schwertheim (1974) 118 b. The text as presented by Schwertheim, Merlat and the CIL goes back to a conjecture of Domaszewski, but it is quite obvious that *agen[tium ad abie]gnas pi[las secandas]* is fanciful, especially when compared to our numbers **6** and **7** and CIL XIII, 6618:—*ag(entium in) lignar(iis)*—; see Schwertheim's plate III.

pṛ[incipe—] sub cur[a] I(ulii) Celsi o[pt(ionis) leg(ionis) s(upra)] s(criptae), Mess[alla et] Sabino co(n)s(ulibus).

Detachments of auxiliary cohorts at Dura-Europos/Syria:
Altar (Dura-Rep. 9, p. 110, no. 971) A.D. 251

9 Ἔτους βξφ', Διὶ μεγίστ(ῳ) καὶ θεῷ Δολιχέῳ οὐηξιλ(λατίων) σπείρης β' Παφλαγόν(ων) Γαλλ̣ι̣ανῆς Οὐλυσ{σ}ιανῆς ἐπὶ Ἰουλ(ίου) Ἰουλιανο(ῦ) κρατίστου δουκὸς διὰ Οὐλ(πίου) Ἰουλι̣α̣ν̣ο̣ῦ̣ (ἑκατοντάρχου) πρίνκ(ιπος) καὶ Μαρίνου . . . καὶ Ζηνο{ο}δώρου ὀπτί̣ο̣ν̣(ος) καὶ Φαυστειανοῦ . . . ΣΤΟΥ.

Altar (Dura-Rep. 9, p. 112 ff, no. 972) A.D. 251

10 Διὶ μεγίστῳ καὶ θεῷ Δολιχέῳ στρα(τιῶται) σπίρης β' ἱππικῆς Γαλλιαν(ῆς) Οὐολυσιανῆς ἐπὶ Ἰου(λίου) Ἰουλιανο(ῦ) κρατίστου δουκὸς διὰ Αὐρη(λίου) Λουκίου πρί<ν>κι(πος) σπ(ίρης) τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ Βάσσου ὀπτίων(ος) τοῦ πρί<ν>κιπο(ς) καὶ πάντων τῶν μουνεραρίω(ν).

This astounding success has been ascribed to the zealous worship the god received from native Commagenian traders and soldiers.[17] But proof is wanting. Admittedly, Syrians and other Orientals, even Parthians, play a very important role among the followers of the god, and they are especially numerous in the priesthood; yet no specific Commagenians are known amongst them. Similarly, the auxiliary regiments of Commagenians—at least one ala and six cohorts—levied soon after the conquest and sent to distant parts of the empire,[18] left us only one monument of their worship of Iuppiter Dolichenus, an altar from Micia in Dacia with the following inscription:[19]

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[17] Cumont (1903) 1276, 46 ff. Cumont (1929) 25. A cautious approach is taken by Merlat (1960) 11. Latte (1960) 348 writes: 'Die Träger des Kultes scheinen hier zunächst die unter den Flaviern errichteten Cohortes Commagenorum gewesen zu sein'.

[18] *Ala I Commagenorum* was apparently sent to Egypt, where it is known in A.D. 83, but no longer on the diploma of A.D. 105: CIL XVI, 29; AE 1968, 513; cf. IGR I, 1336 and Gauthier (1911) 259, no. 24 = Lesquier (1918) 497, no. 27. By A.D. 106 the unit was in Noricum, (CIL XVI, 52) for its fate there see G. Alföldy (1974) 257. For cohorts I and II *Flavia Commagenorum* on the Danube see Wagner (1938) 123 ff. and Russu (1969). A *cohors VI Commagenorum* is known in Numidia at least from the time of Hadrian, see Cagnat (1913) 202. One cohort may have served in Cappadocia, see Cichorius (1900) 275.

11 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno ara(m) Micia(e) M[—] pra(efectus) coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Commag(e)norum bene m(erenti) posuit.*

Certainly, the Commagenian units worshipped their home god, but not on an unusual scale nor with any apparent particular success. Thus, while other units recruited from the Orient, or campaigning there, took an active part in spreading the cult, the Commagenian units proper cannot be shown to have made a difference.[20] Obviously, it took more than native zeal to win the world for a little-known local god, however old: the cult must have possessed an intrinsic appeal, at least for other Orientals.

Of such Orientals, not from Commagene, but influential backers of the cult, the most outstanding cases are two centurions:

Altar from Mogontiacum/Upper Germany of A.D. 211-217:[21]

12 *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno Domit(ius) Asclepiades, domo Arethusa Suriae, 7(centurio) leg(ionis) XXII pr(imigeniae) Antoninianae v(otum) s(olvit).*

Altar from Lambaesis/Numidia of an unknown date:[22]

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[19] M 31.

[20] For *cohors I Canathenorum* see M 175; for *cohors II Hamiorum* see IRT 868, = below **44**; M 316. Cf. Merlat (1960) 11. Wagner's view (1938) 123 ff. that the Dolichenus cult at Ampelum in Dacia (cf. Merlat 1951 27-30) is somehow due to *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum*, stationed at nearby Micia, is not convincing and invalidated by a new text from Ampelum mentioning a *beneficiarius consularis* as dedicant (AE 1971, 381, see below, **51**), for such *beneficiarii* were taken from the legions, not from the auxilia. Similarly Merlat's (1960) 11 suggestion that the Dolichenus finds at Trigisamum in Noricum and at Mauer-an-der-Url are due somehow to *ala I Commagenorum* stationed in Commagena, which is not even a neighboring castellum, is rather gratuitous. R. Cagnat (1913) 202 has shown that the Dolichenus monuments from Africa are not due to *cohors VI Commagenorum*. By contrast, Iuppiter Dolichenus was not the only *deus patrius* worshipped by Commagenian soldiers, cf. Dessau 9273: *[I]ovi Turmazgadi [co]h. II Fl. [Co]mmag. eg. s[ag, cui] pr. Arru[ntiu]s Agrippinu[s] v.s.l.m.*, cf. Gilliam (1974).

[21] CIL XIII, 11811 = Dessau 9285 = M 310 = Schwertheim (1974) 101 (with plate).

[22] CIL VIII, 18223 = M 293.

13 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Doliche[no], Valerius Rufus, 7(centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) v(otum) l(aetus) l(ibens) s(olvit).*

The same man, apparently, is mentioned on the tombstone CIL VIII, 2997: *D(is) m(anibus) L(ucii) Valeri(i) L(ucii) f(ilii) Rufi domo Antiochia*—

Together with the three priests of oriental origin discussed below (**15**, **27** and **28**) [23] these monuments show that the cult in the army was largely supported by Orientals which is one, if not the only one, reason why the army proved to be a particularly successful field of expansion as there the Orientals, the most zealous adherents of the faith, found their way to the remotest corners of the empire.

On the other hand, the fact that entire units made dedications shows most clearly that the cult remained by no means restricted to Orientals, even though very few individuals of Western origin are known to have been worshippers of the god [24] which seems due mainly to the fact that worshippers rarely indicate their birthplace. One altar found in Upper Germany was put up by a centurion from Savaria in Pannonia:

Altar from castellum Obernburg/Upper Germany of A.D. 191 (fig. 21): [25]

14 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno, in honor(em) d(omus) di(vinae), P(ublius) Ferrasius, Cl(audia tribu), Avitus, Savaria, 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) p(iae) f(idelis) ⟦c(onstantis) C(ommodianae)⟧ ex aquilifero leg(ionis) I Adiutricis, pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito), Badroniano et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus).*

This altar has been cited as proof for the spread of the cult especially from Pannonia to other areas of the empire, a hypothesis that lacks credibility as long as there are not more such cases on record.[26]

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[23] See also M17: *i(mmunis) leg(ionis) X Fretensis*; AE 1968, 454: *Isauricus*; M 175; *vete(rani) coh(ortis) I Cana(thenorum)*; M 259: *Callystus.*

[24] See e.g. M 114 and below, nos **45** and **46**, even though with commanders there is always a chance that they dedicated to Iuppiter Dolichenus not because they worshipped him, but to impress or flatter their units.

[25] CIL XIII, 6646 = M 301 = Schwertheim, 119. The find-spot Aschaffenburg points to an origin from Obernburg rather than Stockstadt, an assumption which Studiendirektor H. Lehner/Obernburg in a letter kindly confirmed to me: Obernburg in the Middle Ages supplied Aschaffenburg with cut stones.

Another reason given sometimes for the success of the Dolichenus cult in the army is the alleged support it received from the Syro-African dynasty of the Severi.[27] However, a significant number of military dedications to the god come from the time before that dynasty:

Pre-Severan (before A.D. 192): 14 [28]
Severan (A.D. 192-A.D. 235): 23 [29]
Post-Severan (After A.D. 235): 6 [30]

While it is obvious from these numbers that the cult reached its climax—in the army as among civilians—during the Severan period, there are enough dedications from the time of the Antonines, especially from the reign of Commodus, to show that the cult had spread vigorously without the support of the Severi, a support moreover, for which there is no evidence in our sources.[30]

Even though Iuppiter Dolichenus, together with Mithras, was the most prominent of all the oriental gods worshipped in the army, the spread of his cult cannot be ascribed simply to his special appeal to soldiers, as will be shown below.[31] The cult of Mithras, much better known because its underground temples are better preserved, stands revealed as a rich and complex religion appealing to all social strata and ranks, even to the most highly educated, with its intricate ritual and its all-encompassing beliefs.[32] By contrast, the less well-known cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus is sometimes seen as a more simplistic religion, concerned with a battle-god offering protection to soldiers in the field.[33] When excavation of the great Aventine Dolichenum in Rome brought to light an unsuspected wealth of aspects of the Dolichenus cult, the dim view taken of that religion retracted into the argument that the Dolichenus cult may have been more sophisticated among civilians and less so among soldiers.[34] Yet it would be strange if Mithraism and the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus owed their success among soldiers to such diametrically opposed features. It is particularly important therefore, to investigate whether there existed indeed a difference between the civilian and the military worship of Iuppiter Dolichenus and whether the soldiers did not follow as complex a creed as the civilians. If it could be demonstrated that the soldiers' senses, hearts and minds sought and found more in the Dolichenian religion than just protection on the battle field, one would understand why this religion—like the other oriental religions that were prominent in the army—was so successful with civilians as well. After all, less than two in five of the cult's inscriptions mention soldiers.[35] Moreover, if one can prove the basic unity of this religion, whether followed by civilians or soldiers, one will gain at the same time a much better appreciation of the spiritual life of the imperial army.

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[26] Kan (1943) 15 f and 19 f, but see Schwertheim (1974) 309 f. M345 = Schwertheim (1974) 3 is rather too unreliably transmitted to base conclusions on it. Cf. Mócsy (1962) 738. Our altar cannot be claimed to be the earliest monument of the cult in Germany, for in A.D. 194 the townspeople of Aquae Mattiacae already restored a temple to Iuppiter Dolichenus which they claim had been *vetustate dilabsum* (M335): the cult thus had spread in Germany long before. Contra: Kan (1943) 19. See also Merlat (1960) 23, however the dates he suggests are all open to doubt.

[27] E.g. Kan (1943) 19; Fitz (1959); Merlat (1960) 26 f; etc.

[28] **1**; **2**; **14**; **15**; **16**; **17**; **34**; **42**; **48**; also M 74 (A.D. 138 ?); M 175 (A.D. 163) M 247 (A.D. 185-192); M 17 (A.D. 167-180 ?); M 115 (A.D. 180-183).

[29] **6**; **7**; **8**; **12**; **13**; **35**; **38**; **42**; **44**; also M 19; M 22; M 69; M 75; M 79; M 130; M 248; M 290; M 324; M 345; AE 1957, 327; AE 1967, 259; AE 1971, 28; AE 1972, 505

[30] Discussed below, p. 73.

[31] Contra: Schneider (1940), 329 'Nur infolge seiner soldatischen Vorzüge ist der Gott von Doliche—aufgenommen worden', Cf. Richmond (1943) 180: 'The all-powerful god of iron won the devotion of the Eastern army and was introduced to the West by soldiers and an energetic priesthood.' See below, p. 38 ff.

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[32] On Mithraism see Cumont (1899); CIMRM; Vermaseren (1964 and 1974); Hinnels (1975); for Mithraism in the army see Daniels (1975). The key to the tauroctone cult reliefs is found in the constellations of the summer sky; that is the brilliant discovery of Insler (1975). No such constellational key will fit the Dolichenian religion.

[33] Battle-god: Cumont (1903) 1278, 45. Protection: well discussed by Merlat (1960) 100 ff, but even there the dichotomy between military and civilian worship is overstated, especially on page 214.

[34] Hoey (1939) 473: fewer gods incorporated in the military centers; emphasis on Victoria, not found in the civilian Aventine Dolichenum. Merlat (1960) 15: 'Il est à présumer en tout cas que ces soldats ne devaient pas s'attacher spécialement aux caractères les plus originaux du dieu, mais étaient plus sensibles à ses qualités de protecteur et de triomphateur;' *ibidem* 213: 'simplification.' But cf. Kan (1943) 37: 'Man kann sich der Einsicht nicht verschliessen, dass Dolichenus seine Popularität nicht bloss seinen soldatischen Vorzügen verdankt.'

[35] Merlat (1960) 10: eighty out of 264 inscriptions; our count is 97 out of 254, see page 38, note 119. For the inclusion of civilians and even for Iuppiter Dolichenus as a 'family god' see also Kan (1943) 37; Kadar (1962) 76, etc.

3. THE VOTIVE RELIEFS OF THE EQUITES SINGULARES AUGUSTI

An excellent occasion to compare the civilian and the military cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus presents itself in the city of Rome where a complex civilian temple on the Aventine and a mixed civilian and military Dolichenum on the Esquiline have been known for a long while,[36] but where it can be shown that a third temple, on the Caelius hill, also existed, belonging to the imperial cavalry guard of the *equites singulares Augusti.*[37] This latter Dolichenum is not only contemporary with the civilian temple on the Aventine, but comparable to it in so many respects that it may serve as a proofstone for the nature of the Dolichenus cult in the Roman army. The temple is known from two votive reliefs and an altar, all three discussed in the following.

a. *The Apollo-Diana Relief* (Fig. 1)

In A.D. 1888 the *Commissione archeologica communale di Roma* acquired a large marble plaque, 59 by 66 cm, with a bas-relief and an inscription, found almost certainly on the Caelius hill near the present palace of the Laterano.[38] The relief shows a boyish, naked Apollo with lyre and laurel wreath, holding a twig in his right hand. A raven or eagle perches at the feet of the god, with a flat object in his beak: apparently a tablet with a message. The lyre rests on a round altar adorned with a decorated band of cloth or leather.[39] To the right stands Diana Lucifera in a girded tunic and high boots, holding a huge, burning torch in her right hand and what seems to be a bow in her left. Of the two bitches at her feet one holds two sheafs of wheat (?) and the other a loaf of bread in its mouth. The text of the inscription is published in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum as follows:

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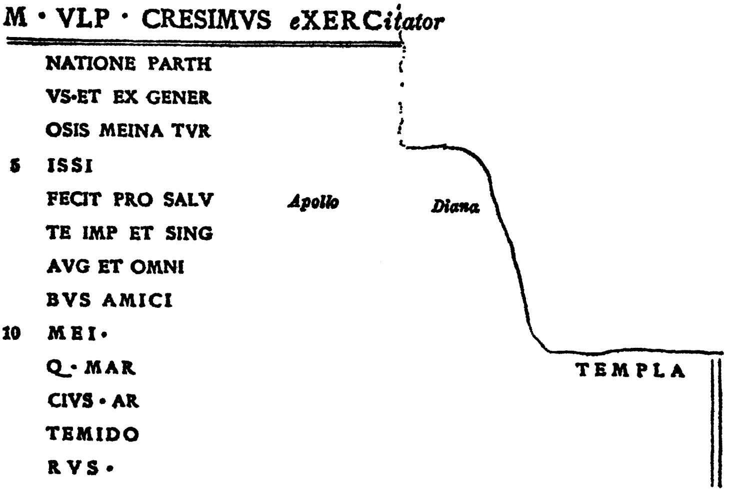
[36] Merlat (1960) 147-154.

[37] For this unit see Speidel (1965).

[38] CIL VI, 31187 = Dessau 2193. For the find-spot see CIL VI, p. 3057.

[39] Round altars are known from other Dolichenus monuments, e.g. M 50 (plate III, 2) and 66 (plate IV, 2). Apollo rests his lyre in the same way on the Mithraic relief from Osterburken CIMRM 1292, 1.


M · VLP · CRESIMVS *e*XERC*itator*
NATIONE PARTH
VS·ET EX GENER
OSIS MEINA TVR
ISSI
FECIT PRO SALV
TE IMP ET SING
AVG ET OMNI
BVS AMICI
MEI·
Q· MAR
CIVS · AR
TEMIDO
RVS ·

Since *M*(*arcus*) *Ulp*(*ius*) *C*(*h*)*resimus* belonged to the *tur*(*ma*) or squadron of Issius, and since his dedication includes the *eq*(*uites*) *sing*(*ulares*) *Aug*(*usti*) he must have been a horseman in the emperor's cavalry guard. As a member of such a squadron, however, he could not be an *exercitator*, a position reserved for much higher ranking legionary centurions who were not attached to any squadrons.[40] Hence the suggested restoration of the text's first line cannot be correct. Indeed, personal inspection of the stone in the Galleria di Congiunzione of the Musei Capitolini in Rome in 1975 revealed the letters]*CERI*[at the end of that line before it breaks off. These letters cannot be made to fit either the above reading *e*]*xerç*[*itator*, nor even *sa*]*çerḍ*[*os*].[41] The correct reading becomes obvious when one compares the Sol Invictus plaque, dedicated by the same man which reads: [42] *M*(*arcus*) *Ulp*(*ius*) *Chresimus*, *sacẹ*[*r*(*dos*)] *Iovis Dolichẹ*[*ni*].

Clearly, on the plaque under discussion, too, Marcus Ulpius

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[40] Speidel (1965) 41 ff.; e.g. CIL VI, 31147 and 31150, 31151.
[41] Thus my own earlier suggestion, AE 1971, 21.
[42] The Sol Invictus relief, discussed below.

Chresimus must be called *sacer(dos) Iovis Dolicheni,* a reading that fills the available space perfectly. The abbreviation *sacer(dos),* without the D, admittedly, is found far less often than *sacerd(os),* with the D, but it is not without parallels [43] and as Fig. 2 shows, there is not enough room for a D after *SACE[R* on the Sol Invictus plaque either. The restored text of our plaque thus reads (with other minor corrections) [44]

15 *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Cresimu[s, sa]cer(dos) I[ovis Dolicheni] natione Parthus et ex generosis MHNA, tur(ma) Issii, fecit pro salute imp(eratorum) et sing(ularium) Aug(ustorum) et omnibus amici(s) mei(s). Q(uintus) Marcius Artemidorus [---------] templa.*

Hence, we have gained a new monument of the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus: Marcus Ulpius Chresimus, priest of Iuppiter Dolichenus, of Parthian nationality and of the otherwise unknown noble clan of the Μηνᾶ (spelled this way on the analogy of the use of the H=η in CRHSIMUS),[45] belonging to the squadron of Issius, made this plaque for the welfare of the emperors and their cavalry guard.

Quintus Marcius Artemidorus named in this text is already known as a worshipper of Iuppiter Dolichenus and medical officer of the *equites singulares Augusti* from an altar he dedicated to the god in the same place: [46]

16 *Iovi Dolicheno pro salute n(umeri) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti), Q(uintus) Marcius Artemidorus, medicus castrorum aram posuit.*

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[43] E.g. Dessau, ILS 4448c; see also the text from Dorstadt, CIL III, 7728, cf. 12555 = CIMRM II, 2008 (see our note 149).

[44] The final S of Cresimus is, at least by now, broken away; the turma seems to be called *Issii,* not *Issi*; (a Thracian name, see CIL XVI, 108) the plural of the emperors is deduced from the Sol Invictus plaque. The stone reads MHNA, not MEINA, the H standing for a Greek η on the analogy of CRHSIMUS.

[45] Th. Mommsen, CIL VI, 31187 suggests Μεινᾶ: it is hard to see whether he was aware of the spelling CRHSIMVS in the first line.

[46] CIL VI, 31172 = Dessau 2193, a = M 238.

b. *The Sol Invictus Relief* (Fig. 2)

A second large marble plaque came to light in 1885 during the excavations at the Scala Santa in Rome near the palace of the Laterano.[47] It carries the following inscription:

> **17** *Soli invicto pro salute imp(eratorum) et genio n(umeri) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) eorum, M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Chresimus sace[r(dos)] Iovis Doliche[ni] v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) [m(erito)].*

On the left the plaque shows the almost frontal bust of a beardless, youthful sun god with full hair flowing in waves and crowned by five solar rays; his coat is clasped by a fibula in the usual manner on the right shoulder. In the middle, between two stars, is the profile head of the moon goddess bearing a crescent on her hair. The bust on the right represents in full frontality an older man with a long beard and with furrows on his forehead over which his hair is falling. His garment is draped over both shoulders and held together in front of him. Slightly larger in size than the sun god, he gazes with the same intense other-worldly stare. Being an older man and fully dressed, he may be the *Genius equitum singularium* mentioned in the inscription. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* describes him as 'perhaps Iuppiter Dolichenus,' but other scholars saw in him the priest Marcus Ulpius Chresimus, arguing that even if he represented the god himself in a new iconographical type, he would have preserved at least one of his attributes, either the double ax or the thunderbolt.[48] Just that, however, may be the case. The plaque is broken off to the right and there was exactly the right amount of space for the god's left arm if it was bent upwards to hold the thunderbolt in the well-known fashion. There even remain some lines on the stone that seem to indicate the tip of the weapon. The picture of an older man with a long beard is so characteristic for Iuppiter Dolichenus, the size of the figure compared to that of the sun god so imposing, the position on the other side of the moon goddess so indicative for the representation of a god that it seems preferable to regard this bust as a portrait of the *Genius eq. sing.* or of Iuppiter Dolichenus himself.

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[47] CIL VI, 31181 = CIMRM 373 = M 239. Contrary to the publications cited here, the word *sacer(dos)* is abbreviated without the D as is obvious from Fig. 2.

[48] Cf. CIL VI, 31181; Cook (1914) 610; Kan (1943) 116; M 239; Will (1955) 275. For other pictures of the god with only the thunderbolt and without the double ax see M 66 and his plate IV, 2, also M 92; 312; 313; 315. For a bearded, dressed Genius (Senatus) see e.g. The Cancellaria reliefs.

If the bust on the right indeed represents the god, then his garment, not clasped over the shoulder like the god's usual *paludamentum* of the imperial parade costume will represent an oriental piece of clothing, such as the Iranian κάνδυς which Iuppiter Dolichenus wears on a relief from Marash/Syria, or the flying cloak (μανδύη), worn by other oriental gods in the Roman empire, or the sleeved tunic.[49] Ulpius Chresimus' Iranian origin as well as similar moves by soldiers and civilian city-Roman Dolichenus-worshippers to restore some oriental features to the iconography of the god's costume [50] would make the appearance of an oriental coat perfectly plausible. Unfortunately, the question whether the bust represents Marcus Ulpius Chresimus or Iuppiter Dolichenus cannot be decided without ambiguity because of the fragmentary preservation of the plaque. For Ulpius Chresimus as a Roman soldier such a garment would be highly unusual, but not for him as a Dolichenus priest, for there exists a relief from the Aventine Dolichenum where a priest is shown wearing an oriental conical hat, and on the tablet from Iasen/Moesia (Fig. 8) a priest is wearing the long-sleeved tunic which could also be meant here.[51] Quite possibly, therefore, the plaque manifests an emphasis on oriental features that can be paralleled by city-Roman civilian Dolichenus reliefs as well as by military Dolichenus reliefs from the frontiers of the empire.

c. *The Date of the Reliefs*

The insights to be derived from the two reliefs may be worth a digression to establish their date. More than 550 inscriptions of the *equites singulares Augusti* are known, almost all of them from Rome itself. Their large number thus allows them to be dated according to inner criteria. Those assigned by the names of consuls or emperors to the early or middle second century A.D. give the name of the unit in the form *eq(uites) sing(ulares Aug(usti)* without an added *n(ostri)*, while those dated to the Severan period or later give it in the form *eq(uites) sing(ulares) Aug(usti) n(ostri)* [52] if not plainly *d(omini) n(ostri)*, and that difference may be taken as generally valid for all inscriptions of this guard unit.[53] Certainly, one will have to reckon with exceptions to the rule,[54] but no such exceptions have come to light yet.[55] In our case all three monuments lack the *n(ostri)* and thus date almost certainly to the early or middle second century. The emperors named in the plural then must be Marcus Aurelius and one of his colleagues, i.e. either Lucius Verus (A.D. 161-169) or Commodus (A.D. 176-180).[56] The earlier date would make better sense since Ulpius Chresimus' father may have received name and citizenship from Trajan during the

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[49] Merlat (1951) 5 with plate I, 2; Kolb (1973) 145; see also the god 'in a tunic' and with conical hat described by Richmond (1943) 193 with plate X, G, 1; for Mithras see e.g. CIMRM 37; for Sabazios in the sleeved tunic on the Copenhagen tablet see Will (1955), plate III.

[50] M 86 with plate VI, 3, also M 190 with plate XX, 2, and M 242 with plate XXIV.

[51] M 190 with plate XX, 2.

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[52] Speidel (1965) 95-105. See also Clauss (1973) 89.

[53] For the title *dominus noster* in documents see e.g. Bersanetti (1946), and Bureth (1964), 7.

[54] The abbreviated *n(oster)* is found once among the inscriptions of the *equites singulares Augusti* before the Severan epoch, in the form *imp.n.* (CIL VI, 31152 of A.D. 145)—but this is very rare indeed. Our argument is limited to *Aug.* as against *Aug.n.* See also Hüttl (1936) 66.

[55] Grosso (1966) cites as such an exception CIL VI, 477 = Dessau 2105, but he overlooks two things: first, that the criterion was expressly limited to the inscriptions of the *equites singulares Augusti* while his 'example' does not pertain to that unit; secondly, the short label "after 193" is expressly qualified by the observation that in the absence of relevant dated texts from the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus we do not know exactly when after the mid-second century *Aug.n.* becomes more common than *Aug.* —yet Grosso's 'example' is of A.D. 192! Panciera (1974) claims the formula *stipendiorum* of his no. 16 would conflict with the *Aug.* on the same text, omitting that the reading *Aug.* is his own invention, not found on the stone.

[56] The way the *equites singulares* are here said to belong to several emperors precludes a dating of the reliefs to an earlier time. Thus Marcus Ulpius Chresimus cannot be cited as an example of Trajan's winning over 'many states' to the Roman side as it is done by Paribeni (1926) 288 f. Perhaps Chresimus' father was a Parthian noble won over by Trajan. E. Meyer (1975) unduly generalizes from certain exceptional cases when he maintains that the mention of several emperors has no dating value: *pro salute imperatorum* (implied by the later *eorum*) cannot refer to past emperors.

Parthian war of A.D. 113-117, and the son, as a Parthian, would be particularly valuable to Lucius Verus in his guard during the Parthian war of A.D. 161-166; yet the later date cannot be excluded either. In any case, a date in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180) is fairly certain, contrary to the prevailing opinion which, judging from the letters of the inscription, assigned Ulpius Chresimus' plaques to the late third century.[57]

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[57] Domaszewski (1895) 64; Cook (1914) 610; Kan (1943) 116; M 238 and M 239.

4. THE DOLICHENUS TEMPLE OF THE IMPERIAL CAVALRY GUARD

The two plaques of Ulpius Chresimus, one may object to our interpretation, do not belong to the Dolichenus cult, since they are not dedicated to Iuppiter Dolichenus, and since Ulpius Chresimus even sees the necessity to inform the viewer whose god's priest he is. Those arguments, however, do not hold good. A relief plaque from the Aventine Dolichenum, showing Iuno Dolichena, likewise lacks any explicit dedication,[58] and on a number of monuments explicitly dedicated to Iuppiter Dolichenus the priests nevertheless sign with their full title *sacerdos Iovis Dolicheni.*[59] The fact that the altar to Iuppiter Dolichenus by Q. Marcius Artemidorus was found at the same place as the reliefs shows that there existed in or near the camp of the *equites singulares Augusti*, a locale where Iuppiter Dolichenus was worshipped, and obviously the two plaques of Ulpius Chresimus belonged there.

The last item on the Apollo-Diana relief, the word *templa* thus points to the existence of a temple of Iuppiter Dolichenus in or near the camp of the *equites singulares Augusti* on the Caelius Hill. The mention of several temples may refer to other nearby temples of the cavalry guard, for dedications to various gods were found in the same general area;[60] alternatively, the word *templa* could refer to several Dolichenus temples in the city of Rome. In either case there is little doubt that the *equites singulares Augusti* had a Dolichenum for their own, if not their exclusive use.[61]

The early date of the three monuments makes this temple the oldest known military Dolichenum after the one at Lambaesis founded in A.D. 125-126. It is of considerable interest for the history of the cult, since few remains of the cult can be assigned so early a date,[62] and since the military worship of the god in Rome seems now roughly contemporary with the civilian worship: the earliest inscriptions of the Aventine Dolichenum date from A.D. 150, [63] so that both temples may be said to have been established by the middle of the second century. The Dolichenum of the *equites singulares Augusti*, predating the Severan epoch like the military Dolichenum on the Esquiline, is of particular significance for the cult in the army because it shows the imperial guard in step with the religious development in the provincial armies, which is all the more important because no traces of Dolichenus worship among the praetorians have come to light yet.[64]

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[58] M 222: *Iulius Aelius Aur(elius) Iulianus, eq(ues) R(omanus), sac(erdos) huius l(oci) cum suis omnibus ex voto liviens animo d(e)d(icavit).*

[59] M 13; M 28; M 256. AE 1965, 30. AE 1956, 210. AE 1968 415. AE 1966, 340.

[60] CIL VI, 31138-31182, cf. CIL VI, p. 3057. For the camps of the *equites singulares Augusti* see Speidel (1965) 88 f.

[61] Contra: Merlat (1960) 154, who, however, did not know that the Apollo-Artemis relief is Dolichenian.

The place where the temple stood would be of great interest, if it could be established with certainty. In particular one would like to know in what relation the temple stood to the *castra priora* of the *equites singulares Augusti*, and whether it was inside the *pomerium*, the sacred city limit that passed exactly through the area. Unfortunately, excavation reports were never published, so these questions cannot be answered.[65] Certainly there is no need to assume *a priori* that the Dolichenum of the *equites singulares Augusti* stood outside the *pomerium*, for already the excavation of the Aventine Dolichenum has laid to rest the mistaken assumption that temples of oriental religions had no place inside the sacred city limits, nor is there reason to think a difference was made in this respect between civilian and military temples.[66]

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[62] Merlat (1960) 18, n. 8.

[63] M 176; M 177.

[64] For a chronological survey of Dolichena in the provinces see Merlat (1960) 17-24. The next dated military dedication to Iupiter Dolichenus in Rome (by a former *vigil*, on the Esquiline) is of A.D. 191 cf. M 223-225. Three dedications by soldiers of the fleet detachments stationed in Rome are known: one, undated is described by M 227; another has recently been published: AE 1971, 28; the third, to *deus Commagenus*, is AE 1953, 26: *C. Iulius Dionysius, miles [classis] pr(aetoriae) Misenatium, natione Surus, pater[no deo] Comogeno (!) et Iul[ius] Aquila fili(us) et sacerdos Sabeo votum sol[verunt]*. Durry (1938) 332, n. 6 is right to leave it open whether the veteran mentioned on the inscription M 200 was a praetorian.

[65] For the location of the finds see above, note 60.

[66] Contra: Domaszewski (1895) 58. Wissowa (1912) 362 takes the Aventine Dolichenum for a 'Staatstempel', apparently because it was inside the *pomerium*,—not a compelling reason.

5. THE DOLICHENIAN PANTHEON I: APOLLO AND DIANA

Our understanding of the Dolichenian doctrines gains significantly from the two reliefs dedicated by M. Ulpius Chresimus. Such reliefs had in antiquity, as in the middle ages, the function to expound the tenets of the cult to those who could not, or would not, read scriptures (where such existed).[67] The first of the two reliefs show Diana the light-bearer and Apollo the lyre-player to be part of the circle of gods around Iuppiter Dolichenus. Like other oriental religions, the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus freely adopted other gods and goddesses, a phenomenon suspected by scholars to have had 'practical motives' i.e. being a means of luring as many people as possible into the fold of the congregation in order to assure the livelihood of the priests.[68] Yet comparison of the Apollo-Diana-relief with statues from the Aventine Dolichenum reveals a different motive. Statues found there—possibly of the same date somewhere in the mid-second century—not only represent the same gods Apollo and Diana, but portray them with exactly the same attributes: Diana with the torch, and Apollo with the lyre.[69] The identity of the gods and their attributes, it seems, precludes a coincidence and shows that Apollo Citharoedus and Diana Lucifera were drawn into the Dolichenian pantheon not to enlarge its population at random, but to play meaningful roles assigned to them by Dolichenian doctrine.

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[67] Cf. Richmond (1943) 181: 'tableau-like display', with reference to the much disputed passage of an inscription from the Aventine Dolichenum *tabula(m) marmorea(m) cum proscaenio et columnis d(e)d(icavit)*, on which see Cook (1914) 609 and Merlat (1951) p. 194 f. Perhaps something similar is meant in the dedication of the Dolichenum of Gerulata, AE 1972, 445 *[ae]dem cum s[igno et or]namentis e[t po]rticu---*

[68] Hoey (1939) 473; Richmond (1943) 194; Harris (1965) 56 f. Mithraism, contrary to Richmond's (1943) 180 f. suggestion, shows no difference in this respect: see the indices of CIMRM. Surprisingly, Schwertheim (1974) 312 and 315 insists that rarely other gods are associated with Iuppiter Dolichenus. For the theological interpretation of the Dolichenian pantheon see Merlat (1960) 99-126. Colini (1935) 155, not knowing our relief, mistakenly thought Diana was worshipped in the Aventine Dolichenum as 'signora dell'Aventino'.

[69] Merlat (1951) 181 and plate XIIX; 199 and plate XXI.

A statuette confirming this connection comes from near Concordia /Italy. It bears the inscription: [70]

18 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno), T(itus) Aurelius Seleucus d(e)d(icavit).*

The statuette represents the goddess hunting with the bow, accompanied by a dog. A deer is also present. Because of the deer, the Aventine and the Concordia Diana have been taken to represent Iuno Dolichena who is elsewhere shown standing on a deer.[71] M. Ulpius Chresimus' plaque, however, excludes the identification of the Dolichenian Diana with Iuno Dolichena, for it represents Diana as the counterpart of Apollo, not of Iuppiter Dolichenus. The lack of the deer on Ulpius Chresimus' relief and the lack of the torch on the Concordia statuette need not be significant, since the goddess was difficult to show with all her attributes and not all her aspects may have been equally important to the various dedicants.

The three monuments of Diana establish the belonging of the goddess to the Dolichenus cult in a specific and therefore doctrinal sense. They may, moreover, explain another phenomenon: it has long been observed that worshippers of Iuppiter Dolichenus often bear the names of Castor and Polydeukes in honor of the divine twins, or the name of Apollinaris in honor of Apollo.[72] Accordingly, one may now wonder whether the name of Q. Marcius Artemidorus and that of a certain Artemon, another city-Roman Dolichenus worshipper,[73] do not constitute a parallel pattern, reflecting the doctrinal role of Diana-Artemis in the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus, comparable to that of Apollo and the Castores.

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[70] M 246 with the figure in the text. There is no reason to suppose the dedicant, Seleucus, was a soldier, as said AE 1959, 99.

[71] M 246; Kan (1943) 31.

[72] Kan (1943) 29 and 31; Merlat (1951) p. 397; Merlat (1960) 15. For a new text mentioning a Castor, son of Quintus (not Castor Quintus as the editors say) see Zotović (1966) p. 91 and Vucković-Todorović (1966) 174.

[73] Μάρκος Οὔλπις ᾿Αρτέμων M 242—IGUR I, 165 (Rome).

Apollo appears also on an altar of A.D. 244, found in the Aventine Dolichenum and bearing the following inscription: [74]

19 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) s(ancto) p(raestantissimo) D(olicheno) et Iunoni sanctae Herae, Castori(bus) et Apollini conservatoribus, Thyrsus, pro salute patroni sui et sua suorumque, iussu numinis eorum aram d(edit) salvis candidatis huius loci, per C(aium) Fabium Germanum.*

Ded(icatum) VI idus[O]ct(obres), Peregrino et Aemiliano co(n)s(ulibus).

Here Apollo's role is of obvious importance since he is a *conservator,* together with the divine twins who are so intimately connected with the cult. Thus Apollo, too, cannot have been added randomly to the Dolichenian circle of gods. Another instance of the worship of Apollo among the Dolichenian gods, the relief from the temple at Corbridge in Britain, is discussed below.[75]

Exactly what role Apollo and Diana played in the Dolichenus cult still eludes us. Is Diana here the lunar partner of a solar Apollo whose lyre serves only the purpose of mythological identification, or do the two gods represent the Iranian-Commagenian Mithras and Anahita? Ulpius Chresimus, after all, was a Parthian. Or is Apollo here a healer god (Q. Marcius Artemidorus was a doctor), and does Diana stand for Nemesis; or are the two meant to symbolize emperor and empress? [76] Both, Apollo and Diana were worshipped by the *equites singulares Augusti* since the early second century, which may also have contributed to their appearance on this plaque.[77] It is impossible at the present state of our knowledge to reach firm conclusions concerning the nature of the role of the two gods in the Dolichenian Pantheon, but what is certain and what may serve as a starting point for further research is the fact that Apollo *Citharoedus* and Diana *Lucifera* had permanent and precise and therefore doctrinal positions in the theology of Iuppiter Dolichenus.[78]

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[74] M 202.

[75] See p. 33 f.

[76] For Iranian influences in the Dolichenus cult see e.g. Merlat (1960) 99 and M1 and M5. For the Iranian gods in the West see Speidel, ANRW II, 17. For a Parthian-Mesopotamian Apollo Citharoedus see Fauth (1974) 699, 33. For a Parthian-Mesopotamian Artemis-Nana and her consort Apollo-Nebo, both worshipped in the Roman Empire, see Cumont (1926) 195 ff. and Ingholt (1954) 13. For Apollo Parthicus, see Macrea (1971) For Luna Lucifera see fig. 10. For Apollo and Artemis in Iran see Cumont (1899) 121; 145; 148; 150. M. (1960) 105; for the connection with Nemesis see Kádár (1962) 16 f., for the connection with the empress ibidem 22 f. Already Antoninus Pius identified himself with the sun god on coins, cf. Beaujeu (1955) 320-325; for Commodus and Apollo Citharoidus *ibidem* 373; Faustina is likened to Diana Lucifera on coins of Marcus Aurelius, cf. the British Museum Catalogue on Roman Imperial Coins.

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[77] CIL VI, 31139-31149; 31153-31154; 31166; 31174-31175. Apparently, though, Diana and Apollo represent here local gods of soldiers from the Balkans, cf. Speidel (1965) 72 f. *Luna Lucifera* (ILS 3946) is worshipped together with Apollo (AE 1972, 456).

[78] Merlat (1951) 192, n. 3 explains the presence of Apollo in the Aventine Dolichenum with the competition the cult had to face from other religions, assuming Iuppiter Dolichenus would pretend to have the qualities of as many gods as possible—but there is no trace of an identification of the two gods. Another oriental god adopting Diana and Apollo into his pantheon is *deus aeternus sanctus*, CIL VI, 1058; 3761, cf. CIL VI, 30847.

6. THE DOLICHENIAN PANTHEON II: THE INVINCIBLE SUN AND THE MOON GODDESS

Who is the Sol Invictus invoked by Ulpius Chresimus on his second relief and what was the god's role in the Dolichenian pantheon? The cult reliefs of other oriental gods often portray the sun and the moon, especially those of Mithras and of the Danubian Riders but occasionally also those of Sabazios, Men, etc. There, sun and moon flank the main scenes, generally in the form of busts, the sun usually to the left, the moon to the right. Their significance in such a context is well known: symbols of oriental tradition, found on countless gems and coins, they signify the eternity and the cosmic quality of the gods with whom they appear as their attributes. They are not cult objects in their own right.[79] On the monuments of the Dolichenus cult, however, the role of the sun and the moon is different in that the two gods have a more emphatic function: found in the upper registers of the votive tablets from Torda, Sofia, Kömlöd, (Fig. 10) and Mauer-an-der-Url, (Fig. 11 and 12), and on a relief from Virunum, they combine with the eagle or the thunderbolt, the symbols of the god himself, to form a cosmic triad.[80] That constitutes a remarkable peculiarity of the Dolichenian iconography.[81]

On the plaque of Ulpius Chresimus (Fig. 2) the moon goddess, small in size and not mentioned by the inscription, might be considered a mere symbol [82] were she not the partner of the sun god, who, portrayed in full size and invoked by the inscription, obviously is a cult object, a god to whom Ulpius Chresimus addressed himself. Sol Invictus and Luna are known elsewhere, too, as a divine couple,[83] and that both of them are indeed members of the Dolichenian pantheon is obvious from two other city-Roman monuments of the cult: two altars from the Aventine Dolichenum, dedicated in A.D. 150 and thus nearly contemporary with M. Ulpius Chresimus' reliefs. The altars depict, to the exclusion of all other gods, a standing sun god holding a torch, and a moon goddess bearing a crescent in her hair.[84] The reliefs of these altars prove beyond doubt that the sun and the moon hold important and therefore doctrinal positions in the Dolichenian pantheon—for both, civilian and military worshippers. This, and the fact that the sun and the moon are never found on Dolichenian reliefs as busts simply flanking the main scene, necessitates a re-interpretation of three other Dolichenian monuments.

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[79] For an excellent account of this role of sun and moon and their iconography in this respect see Will (1955) 272-300, esp. p. 278. For a pertinent relief of the god Men see Lane (1971) no. 100.

[80] Fig. 10; 11; 12. M 23; 65; 66; 143; 152; 153; 346. The front side of the Kömlöd tablet (plate 9) does not repeat the eagle. M 148 only Luna is shown; for M 206, 321 and 322 see the following paragraphs; the meaning of M 172, a bracelet showing only sun and moon, is difficult to ascertain. For the sun and moon as full figures on the Corbridge relief see below, p. 33 f.

[81] Observed by Will (1955) 275.

[82] Cf. Merlat (1951) p. 234 f. 'elle est ici figurée en souvenir du couple *Sol-Luna*, ce qui conserve au dieu solaire sa valeur cosmique'.

The first of these is a plaque from the Aventine Dolichenum of an unknown date (Fig. 3).[85] It carries the inscription

20 *Iovi optimo Dolicheno d(ono) d(edit) P(ublius) Egnatius Fructus.*

The relief represents in its lower register Isis and Serapis between Iuppiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena, in its upper register the Castores between the sun and the moon. Isis and Serapis here are certainly cult objects and so are the Castores invoked in the same temple by the inscription of an altar of A.D. 244 and honored by statues dedicated there in the Severan period.[86] Even though shown as busts and both turning to the right, the sun and the moon equal the other gods here in size which shows that they are considered of equal importance with Isis, Serapis and the Castores, i.e. as members of the Dolichenian pantheon, not just as symbols of the god's eternity.[87] F. Cumont said of this relief 'L'alliance de ces deux astres, dont le cours regulier sert de mesure au temps infini, traduit le mot *aeternus* de la formule rituelle, tandis que les Dioscures, représentants des deux hémisphères, rendent le titre de *conservator totius poli*'. [88] This indeed seems to be the role of the sun and the moon in the Dolichenian pantheon, but the important thing is here that they are gods in their own rights, not just symbols, a fact from which one may glean some of the vibrant vitality of this otherwise still so obscure cult.[89]

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[83] E.g. Dessau 3940 = CIL VI, 755, from Rome: *Soli invicto et Lunae aeternae, C. Vetti Germani lib(erti) duo, Paratus et Hermes dederunt.* Cf. Dessau 1774; 3094; etc.

[84] M 176; 177.

[85] M 206; Merlat dated this relief to the late third century on stylistic grounds which are, however, notoriously unreliable; see also Vidman (1970) 142; Vidman (1969) 392; Merlat (1947); Grimm (1969) 78, n. 5. Contrary to Merlat's description the sun god has five, not seven rays, and Isis holds the *sistrum* in her right hand.

[86] M 202 and 197.

The other two monuments standing to gain from the fact that Sol Invictus belongs to the Dolichenian pantheon are the bronze votive tablets from Nida (Heddernheim/Upper Germany) now in the Wiesbaden Museum.[90] The better preserved tablet (Fig. 6) shows the busts of the sun and the moon in the lower register placed upon the heads of the apod Castores. They flank Iuno Dolichena who stands on a hind holding the sistrum of Isis and wearing the head gear of the Egyptian goddess. The middle part of the tablet shows the god himself with Victoria, while the upper part is dominated by a bust of the sun god. The sun and the moon in the lower register where they appear over the heads of the footless genii representing (perhaps) the Anatolian mountains, may refer to the celestial bodies' actual appearance over the mountains. The sun god in the upper part of the tablet, however, depicted all by himself, clearly is a real god. He is placed so prominently that he must almost certainly be given the same name as on Ulpius Chresimus' relief, i.e. *Sol Invictus*.

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[87] Contra: Merlat (1951) 204. For another Dolichenian relief with Isis and Serapis and the Castores see M 185; Vidman (1969) 391; Hornbostel (1973) 224 with fig. 190.

[88] Cumont (1942) 94, followed by Merlat (1947) 16, Merlat (1951) p. 204 and Merlat (1960) 116 f.

[89] For a possible Commagenian origin of the sun god in the Dolichenian pantheon see the *Zeus Helios Mithras* of Dura: Gilliam, *Dura-Rep.* 9, 974.

[90] M 322 and 321; Grimm (1969) nos. 86 and 87, and page 78; Schwertheim (1974) 73a and 73b.

The Heddernheim tablet of which only the upper part is preserved (Fig. 7) shows the sun and the moon gods in their usual position, but the place of the eagle (i.e. of Iuppiter Dolichenus) is taken by a bust of Serapis on the globe. Because of its position above sun and moon, i.e. as part of the cosmic triad, Merlat (1947) wanted to recognize in this bust not Serapis but Baal Shamin, a god nowhere else found in the Dolichenian cult. Yet the true significance of the Serapis bust can be gleaned from the first tablet: just as there Iuno Dolichena (unmistakable because of her hind) is at the same time Isis (holding the sistrum), so here Serapis (unmistakable because of his calathos and globe) [91] is at the same time Iuppiter Dolichenus (whose place as an eagle he holds). The two tablets, found together and both in the unusual technique of cast bronze, are clearly companion pieces, both exhibiting the same syncretism between the Egyptian and the Dolichenian gods.[92] Whether or not they were dedicated by (or for) soldiers cannot be established, for lack of inscriptions, but they show at least this much that the pantheon—and the theology—of the Dolichenus cult was well-neigh identical both in Rome and at the frontier.

Like Diana and Apollo, the sun had been worshipped by the *equites singulares Augusti* since the early second century: as an obviously oriental *Sol divinus* in A.D. 128 [93], in conjunction with the moon in A.D. 133,[94] and as *Sol invictus* in A.D. 158.[95] Did this Sol Invictus and the one on Marcus Ulpius Chresimus' plaque actually mean Mithras? [96] The *equites singulares Augusti*, recruited from the alae in the provinces had a habit of continuing to cultivate their home gods in Rome,[97] and Marcus Ulpius Chresimus as a Parthian may have considered Mithras his *deus patrius* [98]. Mithras is frequently invoked as Sol Invictus, he can bear the torch as does the sun god on the altar in the Aventine Dolichenum,[99] and above all, Mithras was worshipped in Dolichenus-temples: in Rome, on the Danube, and on the Euphrates.[100] Yet, against a Mithraic interpretation of Ulpius Chresimus' plaque speaks the partnership of Sol Invictus with the moon goddess, for the Western Mithras, a celibate god had no female partner. Even though the moon goddess is represented here considerably smaller in size than the sun god, and even though she is not mentioned in the inscription, the parallelism of sun and moon is too obvious in the relief for the god's identification with Mithras. Thus Ulpius Chresimus' plaque almost certainly is not a Mithraic monument.

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[91] For the Serapis bust on the globe see Hornbostel (1973) 260 ff.

[92] Unusual technique: see Will (1955) 37 ff. Merlat (1960) 43 recognizes to some extent that the two tablets belong together and that their interpretation depends on each other. Grimm (1969) p. 78 rejects any syncretism between the two divine couples and admits only common worship (*Kultgemeinschaft*), a view that does not account for the fact that Isis here stands on Iuno Dolichena's hind. Grimm may be right, though, that Merlat overstated the 'conflict' between the two religions, and certainly Vidman (1969) 392 is right that there was no 'defeat' of Isis and Serapis—even though the chronological argument counts for nothing when dates are based on no more than style. Vidman (1970) 141-143, in an excellent account, accepts total identification between Iuppiter Dolichenus and Serapis, at least on the Aventine monument M 185.

[93] CIL VI, 31139 (Rome): *Voto suscepto sacr(um) Iovi optimo max(imo), Soli divino, Marti, Mercur(io), Herculi, Apollin(i), Silvan(o), et dis omnibus*, etc. The fact that *Sol divinus* is an oriental god, not the native Roman sun god follows from the dedication to Sol divinus (Dessau, 4336) by an oriental C. Iulius Anicetus, cf. CIL VI, 31034; Wissowa, (1912) 360; Cumont (1917) 165.

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[94] CIL VI, 31171 (Rome): *Iovi, Iunoni, Soli, Lunae, Herculi, Minervae, Marti, Mercurio, Campestribus, Terrae, Caelo, Mari, Neptuno, Matribus, Suleis, Genio imp(eratoris), M(arcus) Ulpius Nonius, veteranus Aug(usti), cives Nemens, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* The date of A.D. 133 derives from the identity of M. Ulpius Nonius with his homonym on CIL VI, 31141.

[95] CIL VI, 715 (Rome): *Soli invicto deo ex voto suscepto, accepta missione honesta ex numero eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti), P(ublius) Aelius Amandus d(e)d(icavit) Tertullo et Sacerdoti co(n)s(ulibus).*

[96] Both monuments are included in CIMRM, nos. 373 and 569. For undisclosed reasons Halsberghe (1972) 45 and 108 knows that both texts refer to the Syrian sun god. The reliability of Halsberghe's work is characterized by his comment on CIL VI, 715: 'with this inscription a member of the emperor's elite equestrian corps gave thanks to Sol Invictus for having been chosen to fulfill an important mission'. No further reference will be made to that work.

[97] Speidel (1965) 68-78.

[98] For Mithras' Parthian connection see Widengren (1965) 222-232 and CIMRM 2307 which connects the cult with the Euphrates; see also Frye (1975).

Yet there were also other sun gods in the Parthian empire, see e.g. AE 1958, 239 of A.D. 238-243 (Hatra): *Deo Soli invicto Q. Petr(onius) Quintianus, trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Part(hicae), trib(unus) coh(ortis) IX Maur(orum) Gordianae, votum religioni loci posuit.* For the sun-god at Hatra see Maricq (1965) 19. For the sun and the moon in Parthia proper see Cumont (1899) 121.

[99] E.g. CIMRM 353; 860; M 176.

[100] M 187-189. Gilliam (1952) 115 ff.; Zotovic (1966) 87 ff. CIMRM 70; 348; 470; 471; 1207; 1729.

The Dolichenian sun god also occurs in the following dedication from the Aventine Dolichenum:[101]

21 *B(ona) F(ortuna). Ex praecepto I(ovis) o(ptimi) m(aximi) D(olicheni) aeterni, conservatori totius poli et numini praestantiss(im)o exhibitori invicto,*—etc.

The dedication is adressed to two gods who appear to be Iuppiter Dolichenus himself as preserver of all the firmament and Sol Invictus, the most prominent (*praestantissimus*) among the stars, here styled *exhibitor* in a hapaxlegomenon which will mean 'provider for life'. This interpretation of the text is confirmed somewhat by two further texts from Rome, both dedicated to Iuppiter Dolichenus together with the sun god. A small marble base from the Aventine Dolichenum of about A.D. 244 bears the following text:[102]

22 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) a(eterno) D(olicheno) et Soli digno pr(a)es(tantissimo) pro sal(ute) M(arci) Aur(eli) Andronici et Tar[q]uilie Marcelle coiugis et filiorum eius, aram posuit ex voto, per C(aium) Fab(ium) Germanum, sacerd(otem).*

The two gods are clearly separated, Iuppiter Dolichenus, as the first named, obviously is the superior of the two. Thus there is no trace here of Iuppiter Dolichenus having succumbed to the solar syncretism so prevalent in later antiquity.[103]

A second inscription, of unknown date, also from Rome, reads[104]

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[101] M 200; Cumont (1903) 1279 and (1942) 93 as well as Cook (1914) 608 f. and Richmond (1943) attribute both groups of titles to Iuppiter Dolichenus, *conservator totius poli* and *numen praestantissimum, exhibitor invictus,* yet Iuppiter Dolichenus is nowhere called *invictus.* Merlat (1951) p. 193 and (1960) 124 f. sees here another, higher god of which Iuppiter Dolichenus is but a reflection, yet see M 192 and M 195. See Speidel (1978).

[102] M 203.

[103] For the solar syncretism in Greco-Roman times see Nilsson (1950) 486-519. M 203 provides a very acceptable interpretation here.

[104] CIL VI, 30941; M 237.

23 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) et Soli sacrum.*

The inscription does not identify the two gods but neatly separates them. Again Dolichenus is the primary of the two. The most evident explanation of this text, is that Sol is one of the gods of the Dolichenian pantheon,[105] as in all the other monuments so far discussed. Again, this text provides no evidence for a solar syncretism or even a solar contamination of Juppiter Dolichenus.

Marcus Ulpius Chresimus' Sol Invictus plaque, in its turn, also shows that Sol Invictus did not supplant Iuppiter Dolichenus as the supreme cosmic god, for the presence of the Moon goddess on the relief makes him a planetary god, a quality stressed for both, the sun god and the moon goddess, by the stars added to each of their busts.[106] It can be said, therefore, that from A.D. 150 onwards, when the two earliest altars portraying the sun and the moon gods were erected in the Aventine Dolichenum, until at least A.D. 244, the sun god is in numerous monuments represented as a member of the Dolichenian pantheon, but never identified with Iuppiter Dolichenus himself in solar syncretism.[107] All the monuments concur in showing the sun god to be subordinate to Iuppiter Dolichenus, and no change in the relationship between the two gods seems to have taken place during the century that saw the great fortune of the Dolichenian cult. Most importantly, soldiers as well as civilians incorporated this aspect of the Dolichenian religion in their worship.

While the above paragraph was being written a spectacular bronze bust of the sun god came to light in the newly discovered Dolichenus temple at Vetus Salina in Lower Pannonia. The excellent workmanship of the piece, its size (some 10 cm in diameter, not counting the rays) and the fact that it was built to be mounted on a pole again show the importance of the sun god in the cult. Moreover, the role of the sun god is now linked to that of the tree so prominent in the Dolichenus cult, (see below, p. 34) for on either side of the new bust a flowering tree is shown in low relief and the god wears the same kind of flowers in his hair. On one of the trees a bird is singing so that the bust may be an illustration of the sun god's role as *exhibitor* or provider for life on earth.

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[105] Wissowa (1912) 365 connects this text wrongly with solar syncretism. M 237 dates the text to the time of Aurelian because the find spot is not far from Aurelianus' sun temple—hardly a convincing argument.

[106] Thus, rightly Merlat (1960) 124 against his own earlier interpretation (1947) 30, note 1, that Chresimus' plaque signify the concession of defeat by Aurelianus' sun cult. Our date of the plaque—much before Aurelianus—supports Merlat's later view. For the stars see Merlat (1960) 49.

[107] Contra: Cook (1914) 610, Tóth (1971). Cook may be wrong in reading the S of **19** as *S(ol)*: it could be *s(anctus)* as Merlat (1951) 202 has shown. See also Cumont (1903) 1279, 35 for identification of the two gods.

7. THE DOLICHENIAN PANTHEON III: THE UNITY OF THE CULT

The cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus among the imperial cavalry guard in Rome parallels the civilian worship of that god in Rome in a remarkable number of aspects: beginning at about the same time in the mid-second century A.D. the *equites singulares Augusti* worshipped the god from Doliche in their own temple under their own priests, emphasizing in their cult the same complex 'un-military' aspects such as those represented by Diana Lucifera and Apollo Citharoedus or by planetary sun and moon gods.[108] This suggests that soldiers had the same degree of complexity in their religious experience as civilians, the same need for an elaborate, rich theology reconciling and absorbing the traditional gods while yet emphasizing exotic, oriental features. Considering that these are only iconographical observations, one may imagine the age-old rituals as well as the cosmological and eschatological doctrines to be equally, or even more elaborate and therein find the true reason for the cult's spread rather than in the soldiers' simple desire for protection on the battle field.

It would not be difficult to study other gods of the Dolichenian pantheon from the same point of view and the result would be the same: Iuno Dolichena, the Castores Conservatores, Deus Commagenus, and Victoria are as much worshipped by soldiers as they are by civilians, testifying to the army's adoption of the entire wealth of the Dolichenian religion. Additional proof that our conclusions are valid not only for the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus among the garrison of Rome but also for the god's cult in the frontier armies,. comes from the legionary supply-base of Corstopitum (Corbridge) in Britain just south of Hadrian's Wall.

There, a relief frieze was found 55 × 152 cm (Fig. 4) displaying an even wider tableau than the reliefs of Marcus Ulpius Chresimus, showing in its extant parts the sun god on a winged horse, one of the characteristically Dolichenian Castores in his heavenly abode, a large deciduous tree, and a young nude male figure, probably Apollo. I. A. Richmond convincingly concluded that for balance one has to supply on the missing parts the moon goddess and the other Castor and that therefore the relief will be Dolichenian, with Iuppiter Dolichenus as the central figure. On the other hand, J. M. C. Toynbee seems right to expect the central group to be on the right of the preserved piece, for that is where both the sun-god and the Castor turn to.[109] That central group, then, will have consisted of Apollo, Iuppiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena, and, we may now say, probably also Artemis, while yet further to the right the other Castor and the moon goddess will have provided the balance of the cosmic layout, comparable, in some way, to the relief of P. Egnatius Fructus from Rome (Fig. 3). As J. M. C. Toynbee rightly saw, the tree in this reconstruction can hardly be a simple dividing line between two scenes, but it is not just a landscape feature either, for the Aalen tablet, (Fig. 22) the Obernburg altar, (Fig. 21) and the new Vetus Salina sun bust, all show trees at so prominent places that one must assume a tree had an important place in the myth of Iuppiter Dolichenus.

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[108] There exist dedications naming these four gods together e.g. CIL XIII, 31032; Dessau, 3090; 3094, but it is not clear whether there exist specific relations between the four.

Whether or not the sun god on this relief should be called *Sol invictus* cannot be said with certainty, but Marcus Ulpius Chresimus' Sol Invictus relief (Fig. 2) suggests so, and it is perhaps no coincidence that the earliest dedication to Sol Invictus by a provincial army unit comes from Corstopitum in the form of a dedication slab dating to the years A.D. 162-168. It bears the following text: [110]

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[109] Richmond (1943) passim. Toynbee (1963) no. 92, fig. 95. For Deus Commagenus worshipped among both, civilians and soldiers, see Angyal-Balla (1972).

[110] RIB 1137 = CIMRM 870. Richmond 184 is right to deny the Mithraic connection in view not only of the early date, but because army units did not make dedications to Mithras (except the late *legio II Herculea*, CIMRM 149), for Mithras is a god of a mystery religion to which private initiation is the only access, quite different from the Iuppiter Dolichenus cult. Richmond l.c. prefers not to call the sun god of Dolichenian reliefs *Sol invictus*, because he plays there a somewhat subordinate role, but his role on M. Ulpius Chresimus' plaque speaks for such an identification.

24 *Soli invicto, vexillatio leg(ionis) VI vic(tricis) p(iae) f(idelis) f(elicis) sub cura Sex(ti) Calpurni Agricolae leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore).*

Surprisingly, the same scholar who recognized the Dolichenian nature of the Corstopitum frieze saw in the Dolichenian pantheon no more than 'an eclectic heavenly gathering where every devotee might find a familiar figure' made to attract worshippers because the priests of the cult were 'dependent upon its successful appeal for a livelihood'.[111] Richmond was led to this belief by an altar from Corstopitum carrying the inscription [112]

25 *Iovi aeterno Dolicheno et Caelesti Brigantiae et Saluti, C(aius) Iulius Apolinaris, 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) VI, iuss(u) dei.*

Brigantia, a local deity, is here assimilated to Iuno Dolichena by her attribute Caelestis as was recognized before and is now confirmed by the new altar from Apulum/Dacia (plate 5) where Iuno Dolichena is similarly called Caelestis.[113] No doubt, this is syncretism and may have made it easier for some men of the British sixth legion to feel at home in the Dolichenus cult. Yet aside from the goddess Salus, invoked here no doubt for personal reasons, and from the local aspect given to Iuno Dolichena, there is no evidence that the priests of Iuppiter Dolichenus added gods at random to the cult just to attract worshippers. Rather, the rich, yet recurrent and therefore doctrinally meaningful circle of gods as evidenced at Rome, Heddernheim, Corstopitum and elsewhere must be taken to express for the soldiers the tenets of the Dolichenus cult—proof that they were attracted by the cult's rich intellectual life.

Methodically, too, it is safer to proceed on the assumption that what these men did and believed was meaningful, rather than that they were lured into meaningless beliefs by clever advertising tricks of oriental priests. Nor can one start from the presupposition that soldiers were intellectually inferior to civilian worshippers. Thus, when a veteran dedicates an altar *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dulceno Heliopolitani*, while two 'brothers' dedicate their altar to *I(ovi) o(ptimo) [m(aximo)] D(olicheno) et I(ovi) o(ptimo) H(eliopolitano)*, the former may identify the two gods, the latter keep them separate, but the former may also simply have saved the writing of extra letters as is suggested by the also known intermediate form, *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) et Hel(iopolitano)*.[114] It is altogether unwarranted to presume that the veteran, who may have worshipped the two gods as one, did so because he was less informed about the cult, for priests themselves did not abhor syncretism. Moreover, the word *frater* most commonly means fellow-soldier, so the two 'brothers' may actually have been soldiers.[115]

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[111] *Ibid.* 194. The role of the priests in the propaganda of the cult is also stressed by Tóth (1971), see below, n. 144, but it is not true that they pushed a solar syncretism to gain the support of the state, see above, p. 25 ff.

[112] RIB 1131 = M 273

[113] Richmond (1943) 195-197; M 273; see below **28**; perhaps in the first of these inscriptions *Caelesti* points to the Carthaginian-Phoenician Astarte who is a *dea Suria* like Iuno Dolichena, cf. RIB 1791:—*Syria sidus edidit Libyae colendum*—, see Mundle (1961).

Considering that the elaborate theological votive tablets, too, were dedicated both by soldiers and civilians, one may conclude that the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus evinces a solid unity recognizable not only in the near identity of the main cult reliefs but also in its more complex forms such as the pantheon and the doctrines expressed by it, a pantheon that reveals an equal wealth of forms and beliefs among both, civilian and military worshippers.[116]

A final example of this unity of the Dolichenian pantheon appears in the military and civilian worship of Hercules and Minerva. The two gods flank Iuppiter Dolichenus on the front side of the Kömlöd votive tablet (fig. 9), dedicated by a centurion of *cohors I Alpinorum* (**30**), but Hercules was worshipped in the Dolichenus cult also by civilians at Mauer-an-der-Url and in Rome, while Minerva is found not only on the Aalen tablet (fig. 22) but also on a relief from the civilian Aventine Dolichenum in Rome.[117] It follows that the Kömlöd tablet represents not just the personal or military predilections of its dedicant but a carefully phrased theological statement of the Dolichenian religion.

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[114] M 71; 73; 113. For asyndetic parallelism see e.g. Nock (1972) 663 n. 57.

[115] Contra: Merlat (1960) 122. M 279 remains doubtful as to text and dedicant.

[116] By contrast, Merlat (1960) 213-214, speaks of *simplification* for the soldiers, based on no evidence. For the votive tablets see below, page 55 ff.

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[117] Hercules: M. 176; 177; 178; 179. Noll (1950). Minerva: M 216; M 168. M 65 describes the Minerva of the Kömlöd tablet as Mars, Kadar (1962) 32 opts for Minerva. Perhaps Merlat (1960) 102 is right to look for Iranian models of Hercules and Minerva (Verethragna and Anahita?) rather than to see them as a fighter god and as a goddess of certain non-commissioned officers of the army (*principales*) for which see Domaszewski (1895) 29 ff.

8. A MILITARY RELIGION?

Iuppiter Dolichenus is generally seen as a god of military character, worshipped above all by soldiers and reflecting the particular religious spirit of the Roman military. He was even considered the official god of the army.[118] Accordingly, most aspects of his cult have been interpreted as directly related to the soldiers' world, i.e. to the camp, to the battle-field, and to the military mind. Was he not worshipped principally along the frontiers, on the Danube, the Rhine, and in Britain? Does he not wear a soldier's cuirass? Is not Victoria constantly at his side? Is he not depicted between military standards?

A map of the Dolichenian sites in the empire, plotting the find spots of inscribed reliefs, altars, statues, and votive tablets shows that the majority of the finds is centered along the northern military frontier i.e. on the Danube, the Rhine and in Britain.[119] Yet way behind the frontier Italy, Dalmatia, and Thrace, largely free from garrisons, also produced a good number of finds and so did the civilian hinterland of Noricum, the Pannonias, the Dacias, and the Moesias. Our map thus shows that the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus, while certainly strong in the military zone was by no means confined to it. The same picture emerges from the fact that only 97 out of 254, i.e. less than 40% of the dedications mention soldiers, officers, veterans, or military units. Our map, distinguishing between military and civilian dedications shows that Dolichenus had a solid following in the non-military areas south of the Danube and in Italy.[120] Even if one considers that a fair number of dedications may have been made by soldiers who did not identify themselves as such, or that on some monuments the indication of military status has disappeared, hardly more than half the dedications come from the military. Not even if the soldiers' share in the cult were far greater would it necessarily follow that the cult of Juppiter Dolichenus was a military religion, for there is no evidence that the Roman soldiers had a religious experience different from that of the civilians. To the contrary, examination of the votive reliefs above suggests an essential unity of the cult whether civilian or military. It is imperative, therefore, to reconsider the theological inferences drawn from the assumption that the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus was a military religion and to see what results such a re-examination may have for the spiritual nature of the cult.

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[118] Domaszewski (1895) 60 = 140 'Dolichenus ist also an Stelle des Jupiter optimus maximus als Gott des Lagers getreten'. Cumont (1903) 1276, 59 ff: 'eine Heeresgottheit, wurde sogar im 3. Jh. offiziell unter den *dii militares* des Lagers verehrt' Kan (1940) 40: 'offizieller Heeresgott'; Swoboda (1964) 132 'Soldatengott'; Zotović (1966) 49 goes farthest: 'divinité militaire suprême' as against Cumont *l.c.*; See also Berciu-Petolescu (1976) 9 f. and below, note 121.

[119] See the map at the back which is based on documents collected by Merlat (1951) and the following corrections or new dedications that have since accrued: Noll (1950); Seyrig (1950), AE 1950, 126 = IRT 868; AE 1953, 3 and 4; 1954, 246; 1967, 259; 399; 1968, 415, 453, 454 = 1966, 335 and 336; 1971, 28, 381, 392; 1972, 384-387, 445, 446, 490, 505, 555 and 556; Bull. épigr. 1967, 643; SEG 2, 4, 1969, 1063. Weber (1965) nos 5 and 6. Bulat-Pinterović (1971) no. 5; Tačeva-Hitova (1974) **39**; Noll (1975). According to Alföldy (1974) 342, n. 211 M 127, 144, and 145 are not Dolichenian see also Dolenz (1954) 140 and the Feldkirchen inscription, ibid. 152.

The cuirass of Iuppiter Dolichenus is generally taken as a sign of his military character.[121] But in two legionary camps on the Danube, Carnuntum and Brigetio, the god is represented in the non-military, 'oriental' garb [122] while on numerous civilian monuments he wears the cuirass. Explaining this, E. Will has convincingly demonstrated that the Greek anatomical cuirass, adopted in the Near East in hellenistic times as the state costume of gods and rulers, was simply one of the standard features employed by Greek art to represent oriental gods.[123] Other costumes, used alternatively for this purpose were the conventional 'oriental' dress with Phrygian cap, wide tunic, and trousers, or alternatively, a purely western costume as in the case of the Ostia Mithras or Iuppiter Dolichenus on the Heddernheim tablets (Fig 13) and even on a seal from Doliche itself.[124] Not only Mithras and Iuppiter Dolichenus, but other Syrian gods too, such as Iarhibol of Palmyra are portrayed interchangeably in one or the other of these costumes.[125] The wearing of the cuirass may have fitted in particular the gods' function as protectors of their towns, but its conventionality precludes any inference to the effect that they were essentially military commanders and the faithful their armies in a formal *militia dei*.[126] By the time these cults spread to the West, the different costumes, 'oriental', 'military,' or 'Greek' were simply conventional modes of representation with no noticeable functional difference. It follows that the cuirass and the accompanying sword do not make Iuppiter Dolichenus a military god, whether by doctrine or by ritual. Moreover, the Brigetio and Carnuntum statues show that it was not the god's military appearance that attracted so many soldiers to his cult.

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[120] For a different view see e.g. I. A. Richmond, JRS 45, 1955, 189 who claims the dedicants e.g. in Italy are 'limited to servicemen and Easterners'—which they are definitely not.

[121] Toutain (1911) 40 'dieu guerrier—porte toujours la cuirasse'; Cumont (1917); Lehner (1924) 50 'der ausgesprochene Heeresgott—dargestellt in militärischer Rüstung'; Dolenz (1954) 144 'römischer Krieger' Merlat (1960) 33 'militaire romain'; *ibid.* 34 'militarisation'; *ibid.* 101 'divinité légionnaire—revêtu de la cuirasse'; Kádár (1962) 75 'des kriegerischen—in den meisten Fällen in Militärkleidung dargestellten Gottes'; Schwertheim (1974) 314 'Gott der Soldaten—Waffenrock'; Vermaseren (1974) 68 'Soldatenpanzer'.

[122] M 86; M 106.

[123] Will (1955) 255-271. By contrast Merlat (1960) 33 f. thought the adoption of the cuirass was in the case of Iuppiter Dolichenus a Roman feature, not a hellenistic one.

Iuppiter Dolichenus' attire often includes a sword worn on the right-hand side (e.g. Fig. 3). Because of this he was seen as 'the comrade of the Roman soldier', i.e. of the common legionary as opposed to the officers and the emperor who generally wore their swords on the left.[127] Yet just in the second century when the cult was spreading through the empire, the common soldiers switched from wearing their swords on the right to wearing them on the left.[128] Obviously under these circumstances the god's wearing his sword on the right could hardly be an expression of special comradeship with the common soldier. Indeed, on a good number of monuments the god himself wears his sword on the left (e.g. Fig. 6) which shows that there was no pattern and no deeper meaning to it.[129] Whether Iuppiter Dolichenus wears the sword on a belt or on a baldric likewise cannot have made any difference, in associating him with the legionaries, for he is shown wearing his sword either way, and so are the soldiers.[130] Similarly, the scale mail worn by Iuppiter Dolichenus on the Heddernheim tablet (Fig. 14) needs not to be taken to assimilate him to the soldiers either, for while Roman soldiers and emperors indeed wore at times scale mail, that form of armour is at home in the Near East and was worn there by gods as well.[131] One may therefore assume a Commagenian prototype for the god's scale cuirass.

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[124] CIMRM 230; M 312-315 and 374. Merlat (1960) 188 thinks the western dress of Iuppiter Dolichenus on the Heddernheim tablets exceptional, due to commercial reasons, but he also thinks the western Iuppiter Dolichenus from Doliche exceptional, while together they make a pattern. There is no reason to conclude the Heddernheim tablets cited were set up by civilians because the cuirass is lacking; our no. **50** contradicts Schwertheim (1974) 314.

[125] Will (1955) 263. Mithra in a cuirass is represented on the coin of Tarsus CIMRM I, 27.

[126] Will (1955) 261.

[127] Kan (1943) 23 and 40. Will (1955) 256 follows Kan in his argumentation but curiously substitutes 'officer' for 'soldier'. Correct is J. Wagner in Dörner (1975) 81: 'die Kleidung des römischen Offiziers'.

Other features actually exclude a calculated assimilation of the god's equipment to that of the soldiers. Thus soldiers never wore the anatomical parade cuirass, reserved in Rome for officers, emperors and gods, and the cuirassed god in turn never wore a helmet or a spear, which will prevent one from calling him 'a Roman soldier in full armour'.[132] Indeed, the god was seen in the image of an emperor rather than of a soldier: on a statuette from

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[128] Couissin (1926) 379 and 489-491. For monuments of the Severan epoch showing legionaries wearing the *spatha* on the left-hand side see Speidel (1976).

[129] Merlat (1951) 409 f.

[130] Merlat (1951) 409 f. But cf. Merlat (1960) 101.

[131] For scale mail in the Roman army see Couissin (1926) 449 ff; Robinson (1975) 153 ff. Trajan is shown apparently on a metope of the Adamklissi monument wearing a scale cuirass. For gods in the Near East wearing scale cuirasses see Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes* 4, 1953, 31 ff. and Kantorowicz (1961).

[132] Of the two monuments Merlat (1951) presents showing the god wearing a helmet, the one, M 296, is restored and the other, M 357, is probably not Dolichenian, precisely because the statue wears a helmet. 'A Roman soldier in full armour', Cook (1914) 611. Similary Tóth (1974) 178 f.: 'Iuppiter Dolichenus immer in einer regelrechten militärischen Ausrüstung erscheint'. Tóth's argument that the Savaria-relief claimed by Kádár (1962) 66 f. for Iuppiter Dolichenus belongs to an Isis procession is worthwhile but remains inconclusive, for too little of the relief is preserved. The Dolichenus cult at Savaria was extensive, cf. AE 1972 384-387 and Merlat (1951) 77-79.

Widin (Fig. 23) he wears the officer's sash (*cinctorium*) around the waist, while on a stele from Carnuntum and on monuments from Kärnten his sword hilt ends in an eagle's head like the sword of the Emperor on the metopes of the Adamklissi monument.[133]

A further difference between a soldier's equipment and that of Iuppiter Dolichenus is the god's consistent lack of a shield. This is why on an altar from Obernburg on the Upper German frontier (**14**; Fig. 21) a legionary shield shown on the left side panel will hardly denote 'the god's warrior nature'. The three symbols carved on that panel are a thunderbolt, a tree with flowers or fruits, and a *scutum*. The corresponding right side panel shows two horns of plenty and a pine cone above what is variously explained as a mirror or an oriental winged sun-disc, but what actually is a celtic-style plant ornament.[134] One might say these symbols are fairly common and thus need not refer to Iuppiter Dolichenus in particular. However, a fruit tree appears prominently on a military votive plaque of gilt bronze found in the strongroom of the chapel of the standards in the fort at Aalen (Fig. 22) where a recently found inscription revealed soldiers of *ala II Flavia* worshipping Iuppiter Dolichenus.[135] The tree on that plaque takes such a prominent position that it surely must be of some significance in Dolichenian mythology all the more since a tree is also seen on the Corstopitum frieze (Fig. 4), on the Vetus Salina sun bust, and on the top of both sides of the Kömlöd-tablet (Fig. 9 and 10). Hence both the thunderbolt and the fruit tree on the Obernburg altar seem to be Dolichenian symbols. It does not follow, though, that the legionary shield also has a like meaning. Two other Obernburg Dolichenus altars of the same period (**6** and **7**) show on their side-panels, or within the pediment on front, the presumably Dolichenian eagle and thunderbolt, but in conjunction with the Capricorn, the emblem of *legio XXII primigenia* to which the dedicants of all three altars belong. It was customary, then, to combine on the minor panels divine symbols with military ones. Thus, the shield on the Obernburg altar will likewise refer to the soldiers rather than to the god. If the panel indeed symbolizes an overall idea, it might be Abundance protected conjointly by the god and the army, rather than the god's supposed 'warrior nature'.

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[133] Neither Merlat (1951) 47 nor Zotović (1966) 37 recognized the *cinctorium* because of insufficient illustrations of the Widin statuette. For the Kärnten monuments see Dolenz (1954).

[134] *Nature guèrriere*: M 301. Mirror: Schwertheim (1974) 119 and others; bowl: Espérandieu (1931) 264; *disque ailé*: Merlat (1960) 50 and M 301. Merlat knew the relief only from a drawing and did not realize, therefore, that the stem on the disc makes it impossible to interpret it as a winged disc. That it is clearly not an oriental symbol, such as a winged sun or other, is obvious from another Obernburg altar (Espérandieu, 323) that has almost the same side panel, but is dedicated to Iuppiter, Apollo, Aesculap, Salus, and Fortuna; there it is obvious, too, that the 'wings' are plants. For their Celtic style see a very similar pattern on a relief from Carnuntum, Krüger (1970) 331. The fact that the right side panel does not refer to Iuppiter Dolichenus also points to a possible non-Dolichenian meaning of the shield on the left side panel.

[135] M 168 = Schwertheim (1974) 174. Ch. Picard, cited in M 168 suggests the fruit tree is Minerva's olive tree. That would be more convincing if the tree were next to that goddess. It projects, however, far above her, between the animals of Iuppiter and Juno and thus seems to have significance of its own. The new inscription: see **39**. For trees in the Dolichenus cult see also Noll (1950) 138 ff.

Victoria is frequently depicted together with Iuppiter Dolichenus, usually holding a crown towards him or over his head. This, too, has been taken as a sign of the god's military character. Certainly, Victoria denotes victory and triumph, but not necessarily military victory. Moral victory may be implied when a female worshipper of the god is called *Victura*, but above all, it is the all-conquering, all-victorious quality of the god which is expressed by the presence of Victoria on Dolichenian monuments—not a fierce struggle and clash of weapons, but a sweeping, irresistible, all-encompassing *cosmic* victoriousness as represented by the statuette of Victoria from Mauer-an-der-Url standing on a moon-sickle.[136] His victory not being contested, Iuppiter Dolichenus is not a battle-god and Victoria becomes his herald rather than a goddess implored on her own behalf. In fact, until now not a single Dolichenian dedication to Victoria has come to light, and contrary to earlier assumptions she is found in civilian as well as in military Dolichena.[137]

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[136] Military character: Toutain (1911) 40 ff.; Merlat (1960) 45; etc. Victura: Merlat (1960) 46. The name, however, is more likely to derive from *vivĕre* 'to live'. Statuette on moon-sickle: M 151, dedicated by civilians to the Castores. The cosmic quality of this victory is recognized by Noll (1941) 10 and Merlat (1960) 46.

The cosmic, rather than military victoriousness of Iuppiter Dolichenus does of course not preclude him to be implored for the victory and health of the empire and its ruler. Recent finds have added a number of dedications of that kind, characteristically made by both soldiers and civilians. Altogether, we possess the following:

Source	*Date*	*Military*	*Civilian*	*Dedication formula*
IG Bulg 1590	222-235		×	ὑπερ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀνικήτου καὶ ἐωνίου διαμονῆς καὶ νήκης (sic)
M 15	202?		×	ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων
IRT 292	203	×		*pro salute et victoria dominorum nostrorum Augg(ustorum)*
M 257	211/212		?	[*pro vi*]*ct*(*oria*) *dom*(*inorum*) *nn*(*ostrorum*)
44	201-212	×		[*pr*]*o salute et victoria* [*dom*]*inor*(*um*) *nostror*(*um*)
AE 1972, 556	161-180		×	ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος τύχης καὶ νείκης
51	238-244	×		*pro salute imp*(*erii*) *perpetui M*(*arci*) *Antoni*(*i*) *Gordiani*
28	?	×		*pro salute perpetui imperi*(*i*) *Romani et leg*(*ionis*)*XIII Gem*(*inae*)

A majority of the dedications for the victory of the emperor are set up by civilians, not exactly a sign for a soldiers' religion. What is more, such formulae are found in dedications to a wide array of other gods and are thus by no means peculiar of Iuppiter Dolichenus.

Minor arguments for the military character of the god, such as the frequency of the formula *pro salute* or the presence of the Castores in the Dolichenian pantheon both of which allegedly attest to the role of Iuppiter Dolichenus in battle, may not be worth refuting.[138] Even the formula *ubi ferrum nascitur*, occurring at

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[137] M 222. Contra: Hoey (1939) 473. See also the apparently civilian Dolichenus hand from Cavarna, discussed by Tačeva-Hitova (1974).

[138] Merlat (1960) 101 ff. Dedications *pro salute* are exceedingly numerous in all cults; the Castores as protectors of the Roman army are not known from monuments of the time of the empire.

Apulum, Pfünz, Rome, and Heddernheim, can hardly be said to occur particularly in military areas, it rather refers to a myth about the origin of the god than to military iron works present at the place of the dedications: the only two dedicants known using that formula are civilians, and recently iron smelting furnaces have been discovered in Commagene.[139] Nor can the triangular votive tablets be taken for lance blades representing attributes of Iuppiter Dolichenus as a war god, for even Terra Mater holds such a cult implement.[140] Finally, the alleged use of parade armour in the Dolichenus cult is yet unsubstantiated: the parade shield boss found in the Brigetio Dolichenum lacks nail-holes and thus cannot have been used in the cult. Very likely it was a votive offering.[141]

Thus, while it is not to be denied that Iuppiter Dolichenus won a great many adherents in the Roman imperial army and hence must have appealed to the soldiers, his cult cannot be said to have been military rather than civilian, whether in doctrine, ritual, or social and geographical distribution. His association with military standards and his alleged reception among the officials god of the army will be discussed below.

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[139] M 24; 170; 241; 315. Cf. Merlat (1960) 72 ff.; Dörner (1965); for a presumed military connotation: Richmond (1943) 179; at Feldkirchen in Noricum there were indeed iron works under military supervision near a Dolichenum, see Dolenz (1954).

[140] Contra: Jacobi (1924) 177, but see Merlat (1960) 173 f.

[141] The plaques published by Láng (1941) 179 f. with plate XXX were shown by H. Klumbach at the 1976 Frontier Congress to have belonged to a parade shield boss. The use of parade armour in the cult is suggested by Keim-Klumbach (1976) 10 and argued by Tóth (1973 a). There is, of course, no doubt that the technique of the art work resembles very much that of the triangular Dolichenian votive tablets discussed below, and Minerva, for example, is shown between two standards (Keim-Klumbach's plates 19 and 23) such as are found on the Dolichenus tablets—yet neither this technique nor military standards are in any way particularly Dolichenian, see e.g. our Fig 19. Parade armour served for shows on the training fields, see Arrian, *Tactica*, 34.

9. PRIESTS OF IUPPITER DOLICHENUS IN THE ROMAN ARMY

Traditionally in Rome, public life and religious life were one. Just as Augustus sacrifices on the Ara Pacis, so does Trajan on his Column conduct the sacrifice in the army purification rite of the *lustratio exercitus*. Other commanders likewise performed the official sacrifices for their troops as seen, for example, on the famous Bridgeness slab from the Antonine Wall in Britain, or on the painting showing the sacrifice by Iulius Terentius, tribune of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* in Dura-Europos.[142] Consequently, apart from special assistants, such as the *turarius* and *victimarius*, the army needed no particular priests for its corporate worship and the great number of altars erected to the gods—including Iuppiter Dolichenus—by the various units generally state in their inscriptions that they were dedicated under the direction of either their commanders or of a ranking soldier, not by priests. By contrast, the oriental religions needed holy men of special birth or initiation (*kohen, komar*, etc) to direct the rites of worship and guard the doctrines of the faith.[143] In the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus the priesthood played a particularly important role: the priests are mostly of oriental origin, frequently with such professional names as Marinus (from the Syriac Marina 'our lord'), Apollinaris, Aquila, Barhadados, etc. and they seem to direct the acts of worship and the dedications to an even greater extent than in other comparable cults.[144] Thus, where a group of soldiers worshipped Iuppiter Dolichenus they needed a priest. Would it have to be a civilian outsider, or would army regulations permit a soldier to become priest and function as such?

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[142] For the painting of Iulius Terentius see Cumont (1926) Atlas 49 and 50. For the Bridgeness slab: RIB 2139. For a Roman officer sacrificing to Iarhibol in Dura see C. Hopkins, Dura Reports 5, 153 ff.

[143] *Turarius*: CIL VI, 3236; 31164; 31150; Speidel (1965) 75; Hoey (1940) n. 1007; *Victimarius*: CIL VI, 31149 c 13 cf. St. Weinstock RE XVI A (1958) 2485 and Hoey (1940) 192; Nock (1972) 746 f. Cf. Cumont (1926) 113; 376.

[144] For the names see Merlat (1951) p. 397 and above, p. 22. For the role of the Dolichenus priests see Merlat (1960) 190-197. As Ulpius Chresimus the Parthian shows, Tóth (1971) is wrong to assume they all came from Commagene or that they are known only from the reign of Commodus onward.

The Apollo-Artemis relief of Ulpius Chresimus, discussed above, provides the answer. There, Ulpius Chresimus, while described as *sacerdos Iovis Dolicheni,* is also qualified as belonging to the squadron of Issius, that is he served at the same time as an active cavalryman. If a member of the imperial guard in the mid-second century A.D. was priest of an oriental religion, then soldiers throughout the Roman army must have been free to become priests of such religions. Scholars generally denied that possibility, at least for the western parts of the empire and for the time of the principate, surmising an official policy of exclusion against the oriental religions in the army. Chresimus, consequently, was either considered a veteran by the time he became a priest,[145] a possibility that is now ruled out by the new reading of the relief, or, alternatively, he was assigned a date late in the third century when the old order of things was breaking down,[146] a hypothesis incompatible with our dating of the monument. It follows that Rome had no policy of repression against the oriental cults even as far as the priesthood was concerned.[147]

Given the encouragement the oriental religions received from high ranking governors and army commanders already in the early second century A.D. (**1**; **35** ff.) the fact that an active soldier could be priest of Iuppiter Dolichenus is not so surprising. The priesthood will have interfered very little with a man's duties as a soldier, for it was by no means a full-time job: there were several priests within some congregations and in one case a civilian priest of Iuppiter Dolichenus is known to have been a wine-merchant.[148] Likewise, the cult of Mithras had certainly Magi (and apparently also priests) in the ranks of the army. If there had been any danger from these cults to the spirit of the army it would have come from the Magi with their possible Parthian leanings.[149]

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[145] Nock (1972) 789 n. 263.

[146] Domaszewski (1895) 64; even then no breakdown: Hoey (1939) 475; see also M 238 and M 239, note 3.

[147] For a different opinion see Hoey, Nock, ll.cc.; cf. Gilliam (1954); Fink-Hoey-Synder (1940).

[148] Wine-merchant IGBulg. III, 2 1590 = M 8; several priests: M 192 and M 200; cf. Nock (1972) 786.

Another priest, or, more strictly speaking, *candidatus*, i.e. a candidate for the priesthood, erected a sandstone pilaster, apparently in A.D. 235-238 at Carnuntum, with the following inscription: [150]

26 *[I(ovi o(ptimo) m(aximo)] Dol[i]che(no) pro sal(ute) [imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)] C(aii) [Iul(ii) Ver(i) M]ax[imini p(ii)] f(elicis) [invic(ti) Au]g(usti—[Ulpi]us [A]mandianus, mil(es) leg(ionis) XIIII G(eminae) librarius numeris, cus(tos) arm(orum) signif[er] optio o[cta]v[i] pr(incipis) pr(ioris), candidatus numini, cum U[l]pio Amando [ve]t(erano) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) p[osuit?]*

Not all the restorations in this much mutilated text are reliable, but contrary to P. Merlat's doubts, it is quite obvious, that Amandianus was still in active service at the time he became a candidate for the priesthood, for otherwise he would have mentioned at the beginning or end of his career that he was a veteran.[151] Whether indeed Dolichenian *candidati* were aspiring for the priesthood, or simply for membership in the congregation has also been disputed. K. Latte pointed to the Christian use of the term in the sense of candidate for membership in the congregation.[152] Yet arguments from the general to the specific are untrustworthy in such matters, and for the Dolichenian cult an inscription from Rome listing in descending order *sacerdotes, candidati, colitores,* makes it quite obvious, that *candidati* rank between priests and regular worshippers. Since basically the word means 'seeker after a position' there is hardly any other position imaginable *candidati* could have aspired to than the priesthood itself. If the parallelism with the Mithraic cult be a guide, the congregation, whether soldiers only or soldiers and civilians together, elected their own priests,—obviously from among these *candidati.*[153]

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[149] Cf. CIL III, 7728 (cf. 12555)—CIMRM II, 2008 now clearly vindicated for the Mithraic cult by I. Tóth (1970) against Francis (1975 a) 431 and Daniels (1975) 257, for as Tóth has shown, the second Dorstadt monument, CIL III, 7729, is dedicated to the same *Iuppiter Sol deus genitor* but contains a tauroctonic relief. Since the Palmyreni formed military *numeri* in Dacia, it seems likely (but is by no means sure) that Artemidorus was decurion of such a unit, rather than of a Dacian town as Tóth suggests—for a *dec(urio) n(umeri) mi(litum) M(aurorum)* see e.g. CIL III 7695; cf. CIL VIII 9829. For Magi see Dura-Rep. 7 (1939) 120 (CIMRM I, 61), cf. Francis (1975 a). The significance of the Dura army Magus is seen as negligible by Gordon (1975) 243, as highly significant by Gagé (1968) 319-364. Other Dura graffiti apparently mentioning Magi have been published by Francis (1975 b) 203; *IMDur*. 17 and *IMDur*. 78 b. Certainly of importance for the spiritual leadership of the Magi is the Dura graffitto Dura-Rep. 7 (1939) 865: πυρωτὸν ἄσθμα καὶ μάγοις ἢ νίπτρον ὁσ{σ}ίω(ν).

For the possible Persian leanings of the Magi see Gagé, *l.c.*

[150] M 108.

[151] Contra Merlat (1951) page 101.

A third instance of a Dolichenian priest who was at the same time an active soldier may, or may not, be found in the inscription on a beautiful altar of A.D. 250 from Rigomagus in Lower Germany: [154]

27 *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae), Arcias Marinus, sacerdos Dolicheni donum donavit equitibus c(o)hortis I F(laviae), ⟦Decio et Grato⟧ co(n)s(ulibus).*

Whether or not the dedicant was a soldier remains an open question,[155] but it would certainly be wrong to see in the setting up of this altar essentially an act of propaganda,[156] for a marble basis that came to light a few years ago in Rome, dedicated to Iuppiter Dolichenus by an *optio* of the Ravenna fleet, contains a very similar formula: *de s(uo) feci(t) militib(us) class(is).*[157] Evidently it was customary to erect monuments for one's fellow soldiers as a contribution to the religious life of one's unit. Unless there is proof to the contrary it is methodically preferable to take as honest, and on face value, the religious expressions of earlier civilizations. The trend to scent ulterior motives behind religious statements of the Roman army likewise led scholars astray in the case of Ulpius Chresimus. His dedication of the Sol Invictus relief to the *Genius numeri equitum singularium* has been subsumed under 'interesting glimpses of the ways in which these priests established connection with neighbouring camps.[158] Yet there is little doubt that Ulpius Chresimus himself was a member of the imperial cavalry guard and thus dedicated the relief to the genius of his own unit. If any confirmation for this were needed one could point to the overwhelming number of monuments on which soldiers include the genius of their own unit among the gods to which the dedication is made.[159]

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[152] Merlat (1960) 192 makes a good case for the *candidati* aspiring to priesthood and other ritual functions of theirs. Contra: Latte (1960) 348.

[153] See above, note 148.

[154] CIL XIII, 7786 = M 342 = Schwertheim (1974) 43 with plate 99: the monument is not a cippus as Merlat says, but an altar, now in the *Rheinisches Landesmuseum* in Bonn.

[155] Domaszewski (1895) 64 assumed Arcias Marinus was a soldier of this unit. For the cohort see Alföldy (1968) p. 61.

[156] Hoey (1939) 472; Merlat 1951 342 and (1960) 214. cf. Nock (1972) 789.

[157] AE 1971, 28.

As the temples of the oriental gods for lack of space usually, though not always, stood outside the camps,[160] common worship of soldiers side by side with civilians seems to have been widely practised.[161] That may account for a perhaps civilian priest in a clearly military Dolichenum at Apulum in Dacia. There an altar was found (Fig. 5) bearing the following text: [162]

28 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) et deae Suriae magna[e] caelesti pro salute perpetui imperi(i) Romani et leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) Flavius Barhadadi s(acerdos) I(ovis) D(olicheni) ad leg(ionem) s(upra) s(criptam) v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit).*

Flavius Barhadadi, to be sure, is not a name in the Roman form of *nomen* and *cognomen*, rather it is an individual name with the patronymic appended in the way of non-citizens. However, it does not follow necessarily that the priest was not also a soldier, for elsewhere, too, legionaries are known with such incorrect names.[163] Moreover, Flavius Barhadadi was a priestly name and may have been used here in preference over a possible legionary name our man may also have possessed.

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[158] Hoey (1939) 472. Compare Richmond's (1943) 194 suggestion that the Dolichenian pantheon was made by priests to attract worshippers so as to ensure the priests' livelihood, or to compliment the ruling dynasty. The Mithraic *pater et sacerdos* of CIL VI, 738 mentioned by Hoey as another such example for propaganda may (or may not) be a praetorian himself, for the evidence is inconclusive, *pace* Durry (1938) 341.

[159] For dedications to military *Genii* see Kunckel (1974) 100 ff., 54 ff. and Speidel, ANRW II, 16. 2.

[160] Hoey (1939), but see Nock (1972) 747 f. A new study on the emplacement of temples to oriental gods with respect to military camps is in preparation by J. F. Gilliam. Dr. Hefner/Obernburg reports the altar **7** was found *inside* the castellum Obernburg.

[161] Hoey (1939).

[162] Berciu-Popa (1964), = AE 1965, 30.

The difficulty in understanding this altar lies in the abbreviation AD LEG. It might be read as *ad(iutor) leg(ionis)* in which case Flavius would have been assistant clerk of the legion.[164] Yet there are very few, if any, examples for the abbreviation *ad(iutor)*. The original editors of the text may thus have been right to take AD for the preposition *ad*. If so, one will agree with K. Angyal, that *ad leg(ionem)* does not mean the altar was erected right up against the legion's camp; rather the phrase would have to be understood figuratively in the sense that Flavius Barhadadi was priest of Iuppiter Dolichenus attached to the legion.[165] Perhaps the legion's Dolichenian congregation had hired a special priest. Such a position of Flavius Barhadadi would not in itself be proof that the Dolichenian priesthood, encouraged by the emperors from Marcus Aurelius to the Severi, had gained quasi military status in the camps [166] but it would point to a well organized and active cult of the god in the thirteenth legion, similar to the Mithraic cult among the Dacian *Palmyreni* where the soldiers, too, elected a priest for their temple.[167]

A third possible reading of the enigmatic letters is *aed(ituus) leg(ionis)*, sacristan of the legion. To be sure, there are no positive traces of an E between the A and the D, but the same stone *does* exhibit a ligature of A and E in the word *magnae* at the end of the second line of the text and conceivably the stone cutter missed the two small strokes needed to attach an E to the A:

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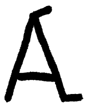
[163] Cf. Nesselhauf-Lieb (1960) no. 162.

[164] Cf. the inscription 560 from Dura-Europos (Rep. 5, p. 225): *Spem bonam Iulio Domnino lib(rario) et Aurel(io) Antiocho et Donnio Pasia et Septimio Sigilliano et Aurelio Magno adiutoribus leg(ionis) IIII Scy(thicae).*

[165] Angyal (1971a) contra Berciu-Popa (1964).

[166] Angyal (1971b) and (1971c).

[167] See above, note 149.



or perhaps the foot line from the A to the D is to be taken as such a stroke.

Aed(ituus) leg(ionis) would make sense, for army units had a sacristan for their shrine of the standards (*aedes signorum*) [168] and there is no reason why such an *aedituus* should not at the same time be priest of a particular god. Indeed, it is easily understood why a sacristan should be considered best equipped to be a mediator between the soldiers and the gods.[169] One instance is known from the praetorian cohorts where a sacristan (*antistes*) of the temple of Mars was at the same time priest.[170] Another, even closer instance, is recorded at Dura-Europos, where the successor of the unit's *aedituus* in A.D. 223-235 had become, by A.D. 239, a *sacerdos* in his official military title and is seen officiating—together with the tribune and the rest of the cohort (or its representatives)—in a sacrifice to the Palmyrenian gods.[171]

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[168] The *equites singulares Augusti* seem to have had such an *aedituus*, cf. CIL VI, 31180 (with photograph in Domaszewski, 1895, plate 2, fig. 2): *Silvano sacr(um) et Gen(io) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti), M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Fructus aeditimus signum cum base d(onum) d(edit)* dating to the second century, cf. Speidel (1965) 103, cf. 75. While one might doubt, whether the dedicant is not rather an *aedituus* of a Silvanus shrine, no such doubt is possible in the case of the sacristan of the Raetian governor's guard CIL III, 5822 = Dessau 2526 = Speidel, 1977, 12 from Augusta Vindelicorum dating to the second or third century: *D(is) m(anibus) Victorini Longini eq(uitis) al(ae)II Fl(aviae), sing(ularis), Cl(audius) Latinus, aedituus singularium, h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. See also CIL IX, 1609 for an [*antistes* - - -]. *aedis sa[crae]* of the praetorians in A.D. 217, and CIL VI, 231 *Genio sancto castrorum peregrinorum Aur. Alexander canaliclarius, quod peregre constitutus vovit, aedil castrorum votum libens posuit* with Mommsen's commentary, *ibid.* The function of the *aedituus* is revealed in P. Dura 82-Fink (1971) 47, I, 7 and 17 and II, 12 of A.D. 223-235 where an *aedit(uus) Aurel(ius) Silvanus* is regularly found among those who stand guard at the standards (*excubant ad signa*). For these watches see Gilliam (1950) 234 ff. and Welles-Fink-Gilliam (1959) 282; for the *aedes signorum* (of legionary camps) see Petrikovits (1975) 75 ff.

[169] In the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus and other oriental gods religious standards, similar to military standards, played an important role. The *aedituus-sacerdos* who certainly officiated about the military standards may also have known best how to service religious standards as can be seen from the painting of the sacrifice of the tribune at Dura-Europos where that priest is seen officiating about a *vexillum* which was either a military or a cult standard: Cumont (1926), *Atlas*, plate 50. For the considerable number of standard bearers offering dedications to Iuppiter Dolichenus see M 22; 52; 289. Cf. 108 and 301.

[170] CIL VI, 2256 cf. 32456 = Dessau 2090: *T. Ael(io) Malco tectori eq(uitum)*

Apparently, a growing intensity of religious feeling and the growing impact of the oriental religions brought about a trend for more and more units to have their own priests. Thus, a legionary priest, ἱερεὺς λεγιωνάριος, is attested at Dura-Europos at some time before A.D. 256[172] and in later paganism legionary priests are not uncommon.[173] At the time when this convergence of oriental religions and official military religion began, the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus was still strong in the army and there may have been more than one case where the *aedituus* of a unit was at the same time priest of Iuppiter Dolichenus.

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praetorian(orum) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae), qui et urb(anicianus), item antistes sacerd(os) temp(li) Martis castror(um) pr(aetorianorum). Cf. Durry (1938) 320 ff.

[171] P. Dura 89 = Fink (1971) 50, I, 2; 9; b2; Cumont (1926), *Atlas* 49 and 50; Gilliam (1950) 234 ff. envisaged this change to be significant but following Nock (1972) 790 he deemphasized that idea in Welles-Fink-Gilliam (1959) 282. For the sacrifice with Themes Mocimi, priest, to the Palmyrene gods in Dura see Rostovtzeff (1935) 247 and Welles (1941) 97 ff.; Rostovtzeff may be right that the sacrifice was not an official one and Welles seems wrong in deducing the rank of the priest from the listing of the watch at Dura, still, the change in title from *aedituus* to *sacerdos* seems to be due to the sacristan's functioning as a priest for the cohort.

[172] Cumont (1926), *Texte* 113 and 376. Of course, the priest belonged to a legion and not to *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* as Cumont first thought.

[173] Cf. Milne (1905) 45, no. 9238 b, of A.D. 323, from either Assuan or Luxor: Μεγάλη τύχη τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ [θε]ο[ῦ . . . . . . καὶ τ]ῶν ἀνγέ̣λ̣ων τῆς [ἱε]ρεί[ας αὐτοῦ ἀνε]νεώθη καὶ ἐκοσμήθη [τὸ ἱερὸν (?) ἐ]πὶ Οὐικτωρινοῦ π(ραι)π̣(οσίτου) λεγ[εώνων γ'] Γαλλικῆς καὶ α' Ἰλλυρικ[ῆς . . . .]ν σαγιτταρίων τῇ προ[νοίᾳ . . . .] βω{σ}ᾶτος ἀρχιερέως καὶ Χα[. . . . . . . .ἱ]ερέως λεγ(εῶνος) γ' Γαλλ(ικῆς) καὶ Γατάνου ἱε̣[ρ]έ̣ως λεγ(εῶνος) ά Ἰλλυρικῆς καὶ Ἀζίζου ἱερέως ἐν ὑπατίᾳ Λικιννίου Σεβ(αστοῦ) τὸ ς' κτλ. The same units are mentioned in the following text together with a unit of Hemeseni to which the priest Azizus may have been attached: Milne (1905) 45, 9272 of A.D. 316 from Koptos: Ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς τῶν ἀνγέλων Ἐμεσηνοὶ ἀνέθηκαν· νόοις τὸν ἀρχιερέα Διονύσι(ο)ν, ἐν τῇ καλῇ ἡμέρᾳ μνήσθη Ἀραβία Βάσος ἔγραψεν μεγάλη τύχη τῶν ἀνγέλων ὑπερ σωτηρίας τῆς οὐιξιλλατίωνος λεγ(εώνων) γ' Γαλλικῆς καὶ ά Ἰλλυρικῆς τῶν ὑπὸ Οὐικτωρινὸν πραιπόσιτον· ἔτους ξκχ' μηνὸς Λώου εἰ. See also Hoey (1939) 467, note 102, and Nock (1972) 782-242.

Finally, if even active soldiers could be priests of Iuppiter Dolichenus as is assured at least in the case of Ulpius Chresimus,[174] it will not surprise to find also a veteran to be such a priest. Still, the text of an undated altar found near Apulum, may be worth quoting here to show how strong the connection was between the military community and the priesthood of Iuppiter Dolichenus: [175]

29 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno, pro salute imperator(is), Ael(ius) Valentinus, vet(eranus), sacerdos, templ(um) impedio suo restituit.*

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[174] Of course, there were also priests of non-oriental religions in the army, see e.g. CIL VI, 30685: *Numini sancti Aescul[api] Sindrinae reg(ionis) Philippopoli[ta]nae, Aur(elius) Mucianus, sacerdos, mil(es) coh(ortis) X pr(aetorianae) p(iae) v(indicis) Gordianae 7 Sev[eri] votum quod susceperat liben[s] solvit cum civibus et commil[i]tonibus suis V Idus Mai(s), imp(eratore) G[or]diano Aug(usto) II et Pompe[i]ano co(n)s(ulibus).* (= A.D. 241).

[175] M 25.

10. CULT STANDARDS AND MILITARY STANDARDS

Standards closely resembling those of the Roman army are portrayed on four of the six extant triangular votive tablets. The standards provoked much discussion and far-reaching conclusions since at first they lacked parallels in other cults. Excavations in Dura-Europos and in Hatra have, however, changed the picture: cult standards in the temples of Syria and Mesopotamia are now widely known and recognized.[176] That poses for the Dolichenian standards the question whether they are cult symbols, representing godheads, or whether they belong to Roman army units. If they are military standards they will constitute impressive evidence for a close relationship between the Dolichenian religion and the army. If, on the other hand, they are cult standards, they will represent a specifically near-eastern feature in the ritual and doctrine of this still so largely enigmatic religion, a feature upheld by soldiers as much as by civilians.

The four tablets depicting standards all come from the Danubian frontier area. One was found at Iasen (Romulianum?) near Bononia in Upper Moesia, one at Kömlöd (Lussonium) in Lower Pannonia and two at Mauer-an-der-Url in Noricum. The date of their discovery and publication matters, for their original interpretation depended largely on what parallels were known at the time.

The Iasen-tablet (Fig. 8) [177] published in 1932 and now lost, shows in the middle of its lower register a bearded man wearing a sleeved tunic and pants, holding a bowl in his left hand and extending his right towards the flame burning on a round altar. The scene is flanked by two standards and those, in turn, are flanked by the two Castores and their bulls. Above is Iuppiter Dolichenus on his bull and Iuno Dolichena on a deer (?), between them a wreath. The two standards are identical, the poles bearing in ascending order a crescent, five discs (*phalerae*), a horizontal bar with streamers hanging down from either end, and an eagle, with wings spread but not raised. Both birds look towards the middle of the scene. The dedication text is broken off, so we do not know whether it was civilian or military.

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[176] Du Mésnil (1937); Rostovtzeff (1942); Seyrig (1960); Fauth (1974); with literature.

[177] M 50. Kazarow (1932).

The Kömlöd tablet,[178] published in A.D. 1854 and now in the national Museum, Budapest, is dedicated by a centurion of an auxiliary cohort as the inscription on the front side (Fig. 9) reads

30 *Iovi Dulcheno, P(ublius) Ael(ius) Lucilius, 7 (centurio) coh(ortis) I Alp(inorum) eq(uitatae).*

The back side (Fig. 10) is very similar to the Iassen tablet, the major difference being that the figure in the center wears a cuirass and holds a staff of command (*hasta*) together with the thunderbolt. Evidently this figure represents Iuppiter himself, while on the Iasen tablet a priest seems to be sacrificing. The standards here have seven discs instead of five and the wings of the eagles are completely folded.

The two tablets from Mauer-an-der-Url, published in 1938 and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, show different standards. The first of these (Fig. 11) [179] carries the inscription

31 *I(ovi) D(olicheno), Postumius Celer, dec(urio), ex imp(erio).*

Whether the dedicant's title of *decurio* means here leader of a cavalry squadron or town councillor is impossible to say. The tablet shows in its lower register Iuppiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena on their animals, between them, on a globe over a round altar, floats Victoria, about to crown the god with a wreath. Two standards flank the scene. The left one shows on a pole above a crescent what appears to be six wreaths alternating with discs, a crossbar with tufts at either end and streamers hanging down; on the top there is an open hand. The right standard, otherwise similar, has seven instead of six wreaths and discs. The little fixtures below the crescents may be handles for carrying the standards. The second register of the tablet shows again Iuppiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena on their animals; the third and fourth register portray the sun and the moon gods, while the top triangle is occupied by an eagle.

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[178] M 65; M 66.
[179] M 153.

The second Mauer-tablet (Fig. 12)[180] bears the inscription

32 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno), Ti(berius) Vib(ius) Messinus, pr(o) s(alute) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

The tablet thus comes, like other pieces of the Mauer-treasure, from a civilian dedicant. In its lower register, there is a standard flanked by the two *Castores* with their horses. The standard has the form of a *vexillum,* i.e. a rectangular flag hanging from a cross piece on a spear, while the pole is adorned with three discs. The second register shows Iuppiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena on their animals, the third and fourth register contain the usual sun and moon gods and the eagle. The tablet is crowned by a winged Victoria holding a wreath and a palm-branch. The back side exhibits oriental symbols of the sky gods: a hand holding the thunderbolt, two eagles, two peacocks.

Are the standards described military ones? At one time or other all of them were taken for just that,[181] yet the opposite view that they are purely religious symbols has also been advanced.[182] An answer to this question must consider both, the shape of the standards and the context in which they are placed.

The *signa* of the Mauer-1 tablet with the open hand and the *vexillum* of the Mauer-2 tablet could, according to their form, very well be Roman military standards, for many matching army standards are known.[183] The *signa* of the Iasen and the Kömlöd tablets with their eagles also resemble army standards. Admittedly, only legionary and praetorian *signa* are known to be surmounted by eagles, but our sources are too scanty to exclude the same feature from the auxiliary *signa*; at least one auxiliary *signum* is known with an eagle, only that the eagle there is fastened to the middle of the pole rather than to its top and is rather small.[184] The Kömlöd *signa* thus might be standards of *cohors I Alpinorum*, the unit to which the dedicant of the tablet belonged, if allowance were made for the oversized eagles.[185]

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[180] M 152.

[181] M 47; Merlat (1960) 47; Noll (1941) 'Feldzeichen'; Domaszewski (1895) 60 = 140; Berciu-Petolescu (1976) 10 even assume the god himself was carried around as a military standard.

[182] Hoey (1939) 460; Rostovtzeff (1942) 98; Seyrig (1960) 91; Fauth (1974). None of these authors, however, refers to the Mauer tablets.

[183] Domaszewski (1885), *passim*. See also fig. 19 and 20.

On the other hand, cult standards from religious centers in Syria and Mesopotamia have become known in almost exactly the same forms. Thus, a relief of Atargatis and Hadad from Dura-Europos (Fig. 16) shows a *signum* consisting of a pole with three discs, a cross bar with streamers, and a crescent. It certainly represents the σημήιον deity worshipped together with Atargatis and Hadad at Hierapolis as described by Lucian.[186] Similarly, a *vexillum*, topped by a crescent, is shown on an incense burner from Dura-Europos which is expressly dedicated to a native deity Simia as witnessed by the inscription [187]

33 Μν(ημεῖον) τῇ Σημίᾳ· μ(νησθῇ) Ῥουμᾶς· μ(νησθῇ) Βαραδάδης.

Both these standards are surmounted by a crescent, which has been described as a decisive difference between oriental cult

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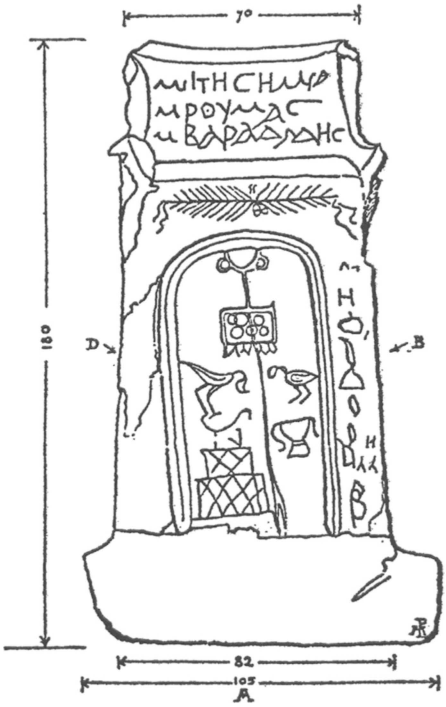
[184] Domaszewski (1885) 72. For praetorian *signa* see Durry (1938) 195-206; they also come with discs, see Zwikker (1937); for legionary *signa* with an eagle see Domaszewski (1885) 49, fig. 52.

[185] Domaszewski (1885) 40, no. 10 seems wrong to attribute the Kömlöd-*signa* to the legions; in his treatise of 1895, page 12 and 60, he attributes them to the auxiliary cohort of the dedicant. For eagles with wings spread but not raised see Speidel (1976).

[186] Lucian, *De Dea Suria*, 33: Ἐν μέσω δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἕστηκεν ξόανον ἄλλο χρυσέον, οὐδαμὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ξοάνοισι εἴκελον. τὸ δὲ μορφὴν μὲν ἰδίην οὐκ ἔχει, φορέει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Θεῶν εἴδεα. καλέεται δὲ σημηίον κτλ. Coins from Carrhae and Hierapolis also show *signa* with discs, see Fauth (1974) 679 f. Fauth discusses in an excellent survey the topic of the standard as a godhead in the Near East with ample literature.

[187] Rostovtzeff (1942) 102, followed by Fauth (1974) 681, 21 read μν(ησθῇ) τῇ Σημίᾳ, μν(ησθῇ) Ῥουμᾶς etc. but du Buisson's (1937) 80 reading is preferable when compared to the photograph in Dura Report I, plate IV. Seyrig (1960) 89 assumed the altar was to a military *signum-vexillum*: one may doubt, though, whether soldiers ever made private dedications to their unit's standard, and even whether in a military context a particular *vexillum* would be called *signum*. A text like AE 1939, 87 seems to be official.



Incense burner from Dura-Europos with cult standard (*vexillum*).

standards and Roman military standards.[188] Yet, a Roman scabbard of a sword found in the Rhine near Oosterbeek (Fig. 19) shows two military standards with crescents on top and thus proves that there was basically no difference between the two types of standards in this respect either.

Finally, a drawing scratched on plaster, also from Dura-Europos, (Fig. 17) renders a cult standard with a vexillum and discs, topped by a bird with closed wings similar to the Kömlöd and Iasen *signa*.[189] The birds drawn with this standard recall those from the

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[188] Rostovtzeff (1942) 103; 105; Ingholt (1954) 19.

[189] Rostovtzeff (1942) 104 f. gives a fine discussion of this *vexillum*, but I don't see on the plate the crescent moon on which he says the bird is sitting. According to Ingholdt (1954) 38 on the Hatra standards (cf. Fig. 15), too, an eagle sits on top in the crescent.

Σημία altar described above and thus make it clear that the standard in question belongs to an oriental religion rather than to the Roman army. To sum up: the open hand is the only major feature of the Dolichenus standards that is not yet known from oriental cult standards, yet just this feature is a widely used cult symbol in the Dolichenian religion (Fig. 18) so that it does not surprise at all to find it on the *signa* of the Mauer-tablet.[190]

It is certainly no coincidence, that Roman military standards and Syrian-Mesopotamian cult standards are so closely alike in shape. Consequently, one has suggested a process of assimilation of the cult standards to the military standards as an expression of loyalty towards Rome.[191] That can hardly be the case for even Hatra, so long a bitter enemy of Rome, worshipped such standards (Fig. 15).[192] No detailed study on the subject has been made yet, but one may perhaps assume a common origin for both kinds of standards in some yet unknown hellenistic standards. That is suggested amongst other things by the fact that the cult *vexilla* at Dura with their flags rather low on the pole, match best the oldest known Roman *vexilla* represented on coins from the first century B.C.[193] No doubt the ancients were aware of the likeness of the two kinds of standards and further assimilation may have taken place in the Dolichenus cult in the Western provinces where contact with the military was strong and contact with the oriental traditions weak.[194] This may explain the tufts at the ends of the cross pieces found on the Mauer-2 tablet matched by the Oosterbeek sword, the *signum* with the open hand of the Mauer-2 tablet, and the *vexillum* with the flag rather high on the pole of the Mauer-1 tablet—unless such forms are found one day in the Orient as well.[195]

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[190] M 41; 105; 164; 217; 318; 347. Merlat (1960) 47 considers all other standards on the Dolichenian tablets military, except the ones with the open hand.

[191] Rostovtzeff (1942); Fauth (1974) 699 f. also assumes 'phänotypische Assimilation' parallel to the donning of the Hellenistic and Roman general's attire by the Oriental gods,—yet that attire is Hellenistic rather than Roman.

[192] For the relations between Hatra and Rome see the excellent remarks of Maricq (1965) 1-26. See Ingholt (1954) 29.

[193] See Domaszewski, 1885, p. 45-46 and p. 80 contra Rostovtzeff, (1942).

[194] Some assimilations may have occurred despite of what has been said above, p. 41 ff.

If the shape of the standards on the votive tablets lends itself to both, cult standards and military standards, the context strongly suggests they were cult standards. The tablets depict the Dolichenian gods; nothing on them suggests the army, no soldiers, no fortresses, no ceremonies. The tablets are strictly theological. The fact that the dedicant of the Kömlöd tablet is a soldier is more than outweighed by the fact that the one of the Mauer-2 tablet is a civilian, for one would hardly expect a civilian to put an army standard among his gods. Conversely, standards were associated with anthropomorphic gods in the temples of northern Syria and what is more, when the gods of such a sanctuary were depicted elsewhere, as the Hierapolis Triad at Dura, the standards were represented with them. (Fig. 16) Unfortunately, next to nothing is known about the sanctuary of Doliche itself. However, comparison with the cults at the neighbouring religious centers of Edessa, Carrhae, Hatra, and Hierapolis makes it almost certain that cult standards were worshipped in Doliche, too, and consequently one expects them to be depicted on the votive offerings discussed.

The similarity of these cult standards to Roman army standards cannot have been without influence on their interpretation in the empire: they may have been taken to represent also military standards. In this context a curious marble slab, found in Rome, must be mentioned which bears the following inscriptions: [196]

In front:

34 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno), Aur(elius), Iulianus, eq(ues) R(omanus), sacerdos (h)uius loci, d(ono) d(edit)*

On the left, underneath an eagle:

aquil(ae) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae)

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[195] It seems perfectly possible to the present writer that the *vexillum* with the flag near the end of the pole that plays a role in the sacrifice of the tribune at Dura-Europos, (Cumont (1926) plate 50, cf. above, notes 169 and 171) was a cult standard rather than the standard of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*; Rostovtzeff (1942), while making a case for *vexilla* as cult standards, insists that this particular *vexillum* is a military one.

[196] M 221.

On the right, underneath an eagle:

aquil(ae) leg(ionis) IIII Scut(icae)

The dedicant, apparently not a member of these legions at the time the stone was set up, strangely includes the eagles of a Dacian and a Syrian legion in his dedication. Did the similarity of the cult standards and the military standards give rise to a worship of military standards in the Dolichenus cult, and are these inscriptions proof for it? Hardly. The dedicant will have served at one time in the legions mentioned and if so, his rank was either tribune or *primuspilus* since he now belongs to the equestrian class. Former *primipili* often came to Rome to join there the *numerus primipilarium.*

Moreover, *primipili* dedicated in particular to the legionary eagles and such dedications could include oriental gods as does for example an altar from Mogontiacum/Upper Germany: *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Sabasio conservatori, honori aquilae leg(ionis) XXII pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis)* [—.[197]

The above inscriptions are thus matched by parallels and need not be taken as proof for a unique worship of military standards in the Dolichenian cult. They remain, however, a remarkable example for the connection between the army religion and the religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus.

The votive tablets as well as the Rome inscriptions cited are private dedications. They do not support the assertion by Domaszewski, that on the Kömlöd tablet Iuppiter Dolichenus occupies the shrine of the army standards and thus has become the official god of the army prescribed by the Severan dynasty.[198] That thesis is based mainly on a comparison of the Kömlöd tablet with the shrine of the standards (*aedes signorum*) depicted on the 'sword of Tiberius' from Mainz (Fig. 20). That shrine, however, differs significantly from the *aedicula,* on the Kömlöd-tablet, in that it encloses the standards too, while the *aedicula* on the tablet encloses only the god himself and thus can hardly be called a shrine for the standards. Domaszewski's assertion, more than anything else, gave rise to the widespread belief that Iuppiter Dolichenus was somehow the 'god of the Roman legions.'[199] Even if the standards of the Kömlöd tablet were military ones and the *aedicula* a shrine of standards, one would still not be entitled to call it 'the sanctuary of the legions',[200] for Kömlöd was an auxiliary garrison. As it is, the *aedicula* between those standards could have any number of functions, the most obvious being to provide a frame for the statue of Iuppiter Dolichenus portrayed there.[201]

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[197] CIL XIII, 6708. On *primipilares* see Dobson (1974), on their dedications especially page 412 (add e.g. AE 1966, 355). M 224-225 names an Aelius Iulianus, prefect of the *vigiles,* somehow connected with the cult: perhaps this was the same man as our dedicant: great prefects were in part recruited from among *primipilares,* cf. Dobson, *l.c.* Contra: Merlat (1951) p. 215, n. 1.

[198] Domaszewski (1895) 12 = 92; 60 = 140.

The original meaning of the Dolichenian cult standards is still to be found. In the Near East such standards could either represent one particular god (Simia) or substitute for other gods.[202] It is noteworthy that on all our four tablets the standards are portrayed on the ground register, either because they were stuck in the ground or because they signified gods of the earth. If they do substitute for other gods, one might suggest that on the Mauer-1 tablet they represent the two Castores who are otherwise always found on that register and are missing only here.[203] New finds, either in the West or in the East, may one day reveal the significance of these standards more clearly. If so, we will gain more insight in one of the most mysterious chapters of the religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus.

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[199] See above, page 38, note 118.

[200] Thus Merlat (1951) 46; 49; 66; Merlat (1960) 47, note 3. See above notes 118 and 120.

[201] Clearly the figure in the aedicula is Iuppiter Dolichenus, not, as Merlat (1951) p. 68 suggests, the Roman Iuppiter: the thunderbolt is as much the hallmark of the Dolichenian Iuppiter as that of the Roman Iuppiter, nor does the god sacrifice: altars with a fire are found on many scenes on the votive tablets that cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered sacrificial. For Iuppiter Dolichenus with *hasta* in hand see the Heddernheim tablets Fig 13 and M 313, M 315. Nor is it absolutely clear whether or not his counterpart on the Iassen tablet is not also Iuppiter Dolichenus: the *patera* in hand does not make him a priest, for Iuno Dolichena (Fig 14) also holds a *patera*, and burning altars are commonly portrayed with the Dolichenian gods. See also M 231: '*Aedic[ulam* -]*Iovis et*[- -

[202] Fauth (1974) 700.

[203] Merlat (1951) 153 rightly observed that it is surprising the Castores are missing here; his explanation, though, that the artist mistook them for the Dolichenian couple is not convincing, and it is not out of order that the Dolichenian couple is portrayed twice: that is the case with Iuppiter Dolichenus on the Kömlöd tablet as well as on the Sofia tablet M 346.

11. OFFICIAL POLICY TOWARDS THE CULT OF IUPPITER DOLICHENUS

Augustus despised, and encouraged others in official positions to despise such oriental religions as had no traditional standing in Rome, be it the Egyptian cult of the Apis bull or the Jewish cult at Jerusalem.[204] The religious calendar for the Roman army shows that this attitude became policy still recognizable in the list of festivals of A.D. 223-227 found in the archives of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* at Dura-Europos.[205] That list, the so-called *Feriale Duranum,* prescribes numerous festivals to be observed in honor of the Roman state gods, including recently deified emperors: clearly, it was kept up to date. Yet no festival is found on that list in honor of any oriental god, notwithstanding the fact that the oriental religions at that time had reached a high point in their popularity among soldiers and officers of the Roman army.

Is one to conclude that Augustus' attitude still prevailed as official policy in the second quarter of the third century? Certainly not. To be sure, it follows from the *Feriale Duranum* that no oriental god, by that time, had yet joined the traditional state gods. Yet, numerous other documents evince how much original despise had turned into publicly acknowledged respect for these religions. Indeed, seeking to enlist the ever growing religious fervour as a support for the state, Aurelianus before long would give the Syrian Invincible Sun a prominent position among the state gods, while Constantine would do even more for the exclusive Galilean Christ. The cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus is lost from sight before this happened, having reached the peak of its popularity during the Severan age, but it had certainly shared in the official toleration and respect for the oriental religions so noticeably on the increase during the second and third centuries A.D. Just how much this cult was officially tolerated or even encouraged in the army is of great interest, for it touches upon the intensity with which its teachings and rituals gripped the minds of the soldiers, and it reveals an important aspect of the spiritual policy with which the emperors strove to keep the empire together.

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[204] Suetonius, *Aug.* 93: *Peregrinarum caerimoniorum sicut veteres ac praeceptas reverentissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit. - - - non modo in peragranda Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit, sed et Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit.* For the time of Tiberius see Tacitus, *Ann.* 2, 85: *Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis.* For Claudius *ibid,* 11, 15: *quod nunc segnius fieri publica circa bonas artes socordia, et quia externae superstitiones valescant.*

[205] Fink (1971) 422 ff. with literature, of which see in particular Fink-Hoey-Snyder (1940), Nock (1972), and Gilliam (1954).

All claims to the effect that the emperors, and in particular the Syrian-African house of the Severi, publicly propagated the Dolichenian cult can easily be discarded. The cult spread vigorously in the army long before the ascession of Septimius Severus.[206] The discussion of the Kömlöd tablet in the previous chapter showed there is no substance to the statement that Iuppiter Dolichenus had come to occupy the sanctuary of the standards, replacing Iuppiter Capitolinus as the highest god of the army. Thus, the widely accepted opinion, derived from the interpretation of that tablet, that Iuppiter Dolichenus was somehow made the tutelary divinity of the army, is wrong. Secondly, an inscription from Lower Pannonia, recording that the emperors had a temple of D[---- restored, needs in no way refer to Iuppiter Dolichenus: very likely a temple to Divus Marcus was meant.[207] Finally, the so-called statues of Severus Alexander as Iuppiter Dolichenus and Julia Mammaea as Iuno Dolichena from Carnuntum and Chesters in no way reveal such an identity.[208]

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[206] See above, p. 10.

[207] CIL III, 3342 = Merlat (1951) 69, see Mócsy (1962) 738 f.; the inscription CIL III, 3343 from Sárpentele (Gorsium?) (M 70) *I(ovi) o(ptimo)* [*m(aximo)*] *Dolc(heno) pro sal(ute) dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum) tot(ius) pr(ovinciae) sacerdote*[*s*] is not a late Roman solidarization against Christianity, as demonstrated by Fitz (1959) 241 f., but it is not necessarily connected with the visit of Septimius Severus in Pannonia either, cf. A. Birley (1971) 213 f. and thus cannot be taken as evidence of any support by Septimius Severus for the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus, contra: Fitz (1959) followed by Mócsy (1962) 738, Kádár (1962) 38.

[208] Against the erroneous views of Domaszewski (1895) 145 and lately again of Harris (1965) 64 see Hoey (1939) 462 and e.g. Swoboda (1964) 195 with plate 52.

Still, there was a certain measure of support for the cult in high ranking army circles as is clear from dedications to Iuppiter Dolichenus by the very commanders of provincial armies.

One such dedication, the earliest known of the Dolichenian cult altogether, is on a marble plaque from Lambaesis, naming the commander of the African army as the dedicant of a temple to Iuppiter Dolichenus, ostensibly for the wellbeing of Hadrian. (above, no. **1**) Whether Sextus Iulius Maior, commander and de facto governor at Lambaesis, dedicated that temple on his own initiative or whether he was won over by the community of worshippers to lend his name and prestige to their temple cannot be said. But it is obvious that the cult enjoyed the support of the provincial commander already at this very early stage. Sextus Iulius Maior's public support for the cult is proof that Augustus' policy to repress the oriental religions had disappeared by Hadrian's time. If 'official' means 'imposed by the government' then the cult at Lambaesis was not even quasi-official,[209] if, however, the word means 'permitted by the government', then the cult was now fully official. Certainly, there is nothing to suggest that Hadrian himself promoted the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus. Sextus Iulius Maior, consequently, must have acted according to his own judgement, a fact that should rule out attempts to infer any propagation of the cult by the emperor from similar dedications met with in Severan times.[210] A temple would not have been built had there not been a community of worshippers of the god, perhaps soldiers of oriental extraction,[211] and one may conclude from this that Sextus Iulius Maior acceded to the wishes of the soldiers rather than that he prodded them to follow his preference for Iuppiter Dolichenus. The point cannot be proven, but is worth stating, for the spread of oriental religions in the Roman empire is too often reduced to government propaganda rather than the power of these religions over the minds of the people. As a rule, it seems, the government did follow the religious development rather than lead it.

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[209] That is Merlat's expression (1960) 155.

[210] Contra: Kan (1943) 40.

[211] Cf. CIL VIII, 18084 recording at least 16 Syrian veterans of *legio III Augusta* of that time; cp. M 286.

Two altars from Lambaesis, set up a hundred years later, also by commanders of the African army, show that official respect for the cult continued unabatedly for the whole period.[212]

35 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolic(heno), Aesculapio, Ygiae, ceterisq(ue) diis immort(alibus), T(itus) Fl(avius) Maximus ex 7(centurione) praet(oriano) p(rimus) p(ilus), praef(ectus) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) Severi(anae), cum Antonia Antonina coniuge v(otum) s(olvit).*

36 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno), M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Iustus, praef(ectus) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) cum Cl(audia) Maximilla coniuge et Aureliis Maximina, Iusto, Iustina, Iustiano, Maximino fili(i)s suisq(ue) omnibus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

From Isca (Caerleon) in Britain comes an altar-slab carved for a legate of several Augusti, i.e. perhaps of Marcus Aurelius and one of his co-emperors. It bears the following text:[213]

37 *Iovi o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolich[e]n[o---]. Fronto Aemilianus [---] Calpurnius [---] Rufilianus [l]eg[atus] Augustorum, monitu.*

Obviously Rufilianus, whether commander of *legio II Augusta* or governor of Britain, was admonished by Iuppiter Dolichenus in a dream to see to this altar. It follows that Rufilianus personally was an adherent of the cult and did not just intend to please his soldiers by this dedication.

Finally the governor of Lower Germany and commander of the provincial army there, Lucius Lucceius Martinus restored a Dolichenus temple in A.D. 211 in his capital Colonia Agrippinensium (Köln):[214]

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[212] M 290 and M 292. See also the dedications made by tribunes of the legion, M 287 and M 288.

[213] RIB 320 = M 269.

[214] CIL XIII, 8201 = Dessau 4312 = M 344 = AE 1895, 141 = Galsterer (1975) 60.

38 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno pro [salute imp(eratorum) Caes(arum)] M(arci) Aurelli Antonini Pii A[ug(usti) et P(ublii) Sept(imii) Getae] Pii Aug(usti) et Iuliae Augustae [matris Aug(ustorum) et castr(orum)] L(ucius) Lucceius Martinus leg[atus Aug(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae)] Germaniae infer(ioris) tem[plum vetustate con]labsum a solo restituit c[urante--] Prisco 7(centurione) leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) v(ictricis) p(iae) f(idelis) Gen[tiano et Basso co(n) s(ulibus).]*

Together these inscriptions show that the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus was not mainly a religion for the simple soldier as has been said occasionally.[215] To the contrary, even members of the senatorial nobility were among its adherents and so were members of the equestrian nobility as is seen from the inscriptions set forth below.[216] Similarly, among the soldiers the rich and highly respected centurions and decurions [217] provide a large percentage of the dedications, as seen e.g. on the new, beautiful altar from Aalen: [218]

39 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D[ol(icheno)], T(itus) Vitalius [Ad]ventus, de[cur(io)] al(ae) II Fl(aviae) pro sa[lu]te sua et su[or(um)] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

It is thus safe to say that the religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus just like Mithraism succeeded in winning followers among all ranks and was by no means confined to any one group.

If commanders of entire provincial armies adhered to the cult, then the same does not surprise of the unit commanders. It is still worthwhile to set forth the inscriptions originating from such commanders in order to give a complete picture of the cult's distribution in the army and to document the support for the cult—or better, the participation in it—by the middle command: Add to the altar **11** another altar from Pojejena de Sus/Dacia [219]

40 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dol(icheno] Q(uintus) Petro[nius] Novatus, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) V Ga[ll(orum) v(otum) s(olvit) ?]*

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[215] Kan (1943) 22; Vidman (1970) 142; a well balanced account: Merlat (1960) 25-28.

[216] See also the dedications of the tribunes at Lambaesis, M 287 and M 288.

[217] Merlat (1951) p. 405, add **9**; **10**; AE 1967, 259.

[218] Filzinger (1975) 16 ff and 46 f.

[219] AE 1972, 490 = M 39.

Altar from Kömlöd-Lussonium/Lower Pannonia [220]

41 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dol(icheno), L(ucius) Iul(ius) Quirin[a] (tribu) Passenianu[s], praef(ectus) pro sua salut[e] et M(arci) Iul(ii) Catu[ll]i, patris, [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)?]*

Marble plaque from Ostia of A.D. 191-192 [221]

42 *Iovi Dolicheno, pro salute imp(eratoris) L(ucii) Aureli Comodi Pii Felicis Aug(usti) n(ostri) L(ucius) Rubrius Maximus praef(ectus) eq(uitum) alae Hisp(anorum) S votum solvi.*

Inscription from Ravenna preserved only by the notorious falsifier Ligorius.[222]

43 *Iovi optimo maximo Dolicheno sacrum, C(aius) Ceranius, C(aii) f(ilius), Callystus, praefectus class(is) Ravenn(atis), praefectus colleg(ii) dendr(ophorum) et centonar(iorum), IIIIvir quinquen(nalis).*

Altar of A.D. 201-211 from Thenadassa/Africa (Tripolitana).[223]

44 *[I(ovi)] o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) [pr]o salute et victoria [dom]inor(um) nostror(um) imp(eratorum) L(ucii) Sep[t(imii)] Severi Pii Pert(inacis) Aug(usti) et M(arci) Aurel[i] Antonin(i) Aug(usti) Aug(usti) n(ostri) f(ilii) et P(ublii) S[eptimi Getae] Aug(usti) Aug(usti) n(ostri) fil(ii) Aug(usti) n(ostri) fratr(is) et Iuliae Aug(ustae) matr(is) castr(orum) M(arcus) Caninius Adiutor Faustinianus praef(ectus) coh(ortis) II H(a)m(iorum), praep(ositus) vex(illationis) le[g(ionis) III] Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis) aram po[su]it et dedicavit.*

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[220] CIL III, 10297 = M 68. Kádár (1962) 31 may be right assuming the text refers to a prefect of *cohors I Alpinorum*, since a centurion of that cohort dedicated in Lussonium the famous Kömlöd-tablet discussed above (fig. 9).

[221] CIL XIV, 22 = M 265.

[222] CIL XI, 6 = M 259.

[223] AE 1950, 126 = IRT 868.

Basis of a statue of Iuppiter Dolichenus from Stockstadt/Upper Germany.[224]

45 *I(ovi) o(ptimo m(aximo) Dolicheno, L(ucius) Caecilius Caecilianus, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Aquitanor(um), domo Thaenis, v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Altar from Stockstadt/Upper Germany.[225]

46 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolichen(o), L(ucius) Caecilius L(ucii) f(ilius), Quirina (tribu) Caecili[a]nus, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) [I Aq]uit(anorum domo Th[aenis] Afric[ae].*

Altar from Habitancum on Hadrian's Wall/Britannia.[226]

47 *[I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)] Dolocheno, C(aius) Iul(ius) Publ(ilius) Pius, trib(unus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Marble plaque from the Esquiline in Rome, A.D. 191 [227]

48 *Item auxit [s]alvo imp(eratore) [L(ucio) Aelio Aurelio Commodo] Pio Fel(ice) Aug(usto) n(ostro) M(arcus) Caecilius M(arci) f(ilius) Iul(ia) (tribu) Rufus Concord(ia)* 7 *(centurio) leg(ionis) III Cyrenaicae, ex corniculario Aeli Iuliani pr(aefecti) vig(ilum) tetrastylum nymphaeum, crateram cum columella et altarium cum columella marmorea et aliam columellam, item orbiculum cum columella et cetera ornavit, I(ovi) D(olicheno) d(ono) d(edit). Dedicavit per Clodium Catullum pr(aefectum) vig(ilum), adsistente Orbio Laetiano subpr(aefecto) et Castricio Honorato, trib(uno) coh(ortis) II vig(ilum), pr(idie) kal(endas) Aug(ustas), Aproniano et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus), c(uram) a(gente) Herculanio Liberale va[l(etudinario)* ?].

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[224] CIL XIII, 11782 = M 305 = Schwertheim (1974) 118c. Compare the following text.

[225] CIL XIII, 11783 = M 306. = Schwertheim 118d. Compare the preceding text. Two other texts CIL XIII, 7411 = M 324, = Schwertheim (1974) 115, and M 338 = Schwertheim (1974) 56c are too fragmentary to be used safely in this connection.

[226] RIB 1220 = M 281, cf. RIB 1221. RIB 916 (= M 270) needs not refer to a prefect.

[227] CIL VI, 414 = Dessau, 4315 b = M 224. There is no doubt that the dedicant had just been promoted to his new position as centurion of *legio III Cyrenaica* in Arabia. Whether or not the last two letters should be expanded to read *va[l(etudinario)]* is doubtful, since apparently no such position is known from anywhere else.

A good many of these texts either mention a vow, or family members, or other personal data which suggests they refer not to official but to private acts of worship. In a case like number **44**, however, the dedication of the altar could reflect a corporate act of worship by the unit as such.[228]

Another instance that shows how the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus had come to enjoy the support of a commanding officer and thus acquired a 'semi-official' standing is recorded on a papyrus from Dura-Europos. The morning report of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* for May 28 A.D. 239 includes the line [229]

49 *Ael(ius) A[vitus 7 (centurio) le]g(ionis), praep(ositus) hibern[is coh(ortis) x]x. P[alm(yrenorum) ---]nicit signum Iovis Dolicheni s(ancti) misit.*

Clearly, 'Iuppiter Dolichenus sanctus' was the password of the day. The previous day the word had been 'security', earlier it had been 'Mercurius sanctus' and perhaps 'Venus'.[230] Naturally, a great many passwords were needed, so the mention of Iuppiter Dolichenus in this context is not too weighty, but it still shows how military life with its particularly strong tendency towards group action and group thinking provided not only an avenue for the spread of the cult but to some extent active pressure. In all this, however, no imperial planned policy can be recognized unless the policy of laissez faire be given that name. Despite all that has been said about Septimius Severus' *propaganda fide* no emperor's reaction to the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus is documented.

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[228] For such acts, see above, page 5 ff.

[229] Fink (1971) 50, I, 13. The reading s(*anctus*) is conjectural.

[230] Fink (1971) 50, I, 7: 47, I, 3; 47, I, 11, with commentary.

12. THE END OF THE CULT

Archeological excavations show that violent destruction during the reign of Maximinus Thrax (A.D. 235-238) caused the end of all known Dolichenus temples in the provinces on the Rhine and the Danube.[231] The Thracian emperor is known to have filled his coffers by depredations upon the riches accumulated in sanctuaries,[232] and Dolichenus temples were particularly rich as can be seen from the fact that a common soldier dedicated a silver votive tablet to Iuppiter Dolichenus in Heddernheim/Upper Germany (Fig. 13) [233] carrying the following inscription:

50 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dolicheno, Antonius Proclus 7(centuria) Germani v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).*

Since no emperor could afford to offend the army, Maximinus' action proves that the cult was not spread very widely and very evenly among the soldiers but belonged to a narrow, rich, and perhaps generally disliked group, i.e. the Orientals. Perhaps the measures taken included the physical annihilation of some of the cult's adherents, too, for none of the known sanctuaries was rebuilt after the catastrophe and the buried treasures were not recovered. Conceivably this was part of an 'Illyrian reaction' against the fallen Syrian dynasty and its supporters and beneficiaries.[234]

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[231] Tóth (1973).

[232] Herodian VII, 3, 5, - 4, 1.

[233] CIL XIII, 734a = M 312 = Schwertheim (1974) 81. See above p. 40. Dr. U. Gehrig of the Antikenabteilung Berlin advises me the weight of the tablet (plus minor traces of putty) is 8 grams.

[234] See now the excellent account on Maximinus Thrax by Loriot (1975) esp. p. 672; for the parallel persecution of Christians because they were considered supporters of the Severan house, see Lippold (1975). Of course it is inconceivable that large numbers of Oriental soldiers were killed,—for the Osrhoeni see e.g. Loriot *l.c.*; perhaps those in non-Oriental units were transferred, or took on a low profile. For Orientals in Pannonian legions see Speidel (1976).

The destruction of the sanctuaries on Rhine and Danube certainly was a heavy blow against the religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus but it was not the end of the cult in these provinces or anywhere else as can be seen from a list of later military monuments to the god.

Altar from Ampelum/Dacia of A.D. 238-244: [235]

51 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) pro salute imp(erii) perpetui M(arci) Antoni Gordiani Aug(usti) Aur(elius) Gai(us) b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) p(osuit) m(erito).*

An altar from Rigomagus/Lower Germany of A.D. 250 has been discussed above (**27**) and likewise two altars from the Dolichenum of Dura-Europos/Syria of A.D. 251, set up by legionary detachments sent to strengthen the garrison against an impending Persian attack (**9** and **10**).

To these one should add our numbers **26**, **49** and four altars from the Dolichenum of Lambaesis/Numidia, on which the name of legio III Augusta was erased in A.D. 238 but restored in A.D. 253 by which date, therefore, the Dolichenum was still in use.[236] Three other military Dolichenus monuments were claimed to be of a yet later date. One is Ulpius Chresimus' Sol Invictus plaque which has been shown above to belong to the second century A.D. The second, supposedly very late monument is an altar from Ratiaria/Upper Moesia with the following text: [237]

52 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno), pro salute Titi Iuli Optati, circitoris p(rae)p(ositi), L(ucius) Licinius Terminalis v(otum) s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito)].*

The rank of *circitor* was taken to belong to the later Roman army [238] but it is actually known as early as A.D. 223-235.[239] Moreover, the god invoked may be *Iuppiter D(epulsor)* rather than

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[235] AE 1971, 381.

[236] M 289-293, cf. Merlat (1960) 155.

[237] M 44.

[238] E.g. Zotović (1966) 47.

[239] Fink (1971) 47, I, 7.

Iuppiter Dolichenus [240] so that the altar cannot serve to date the Dolichenus cult at Ratiaria.

A third inscription that has been claimed to be perhaps as late as the fourth century A.D. comes from Sucidava in Lower Dacia [241]

53 *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dol(icheno), Probus 7(centurio) leg(ionis) et Apollonia eius v(otum) s(olverunt).*

Since Lower Dacia had no permanent legionary garrison, it has been argued that the inscription must date from the time when Dacia proper was already abandoned and Sucidava served as a bridgehead for Dacia Ripensis harboring a garrison detachment of *legio V Macedonica,* i.e. from the early fourth century.[242] Actually, legionary centurions could have been on duty in Sucidava at any time during the second or third century for a variety of reasons, —there is no dearth of legionaries from this time attested in Lower Dacia.[243] It follows that there is no reason to date this inscription later than the mid-third century.

Civilian monuments, it seems, end at about the same time: an altar from Dragoevo/Lower Moesia dates to the years 238-244, an altar from the Dolichenum on the Esquiline mentions the consuls of A.D. 244 (**19**) while a marble plaque from the same temple names the emperor Gallienus (A.D. 253-268).[244] No later monuments are known yet,[245] which may simply be due to chance and to the general scarcity of inscriptions from the second half of the third century—new finds may still bring surprises. However, the fact that we possess so relatively many monuments up to the reign of Valerianus and Gallienus but none thereafter makes it likely (at least likely enough for a working hypothesis) that the cult actually disappeared or shrank into insignificance during that time.

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[240] A conjecture of the first editor rejected by Merlat (1951) and not taken up in the excellent study on Iuppiter Depulsor by Pflaum (1953), yet still possible.

[241] M 38.

[242] Berciu-Petolescu (1976) 11.

[243] E.g. CIL III, 1592a = 8034; AE 1939, 28; AE 1940, 13 and 14 (Romula); AE 1959, 330 (statio Aquensis); CIL III 14216.5; 14216.6; 14216.9; 1584; AE 1959, 316 (Drobeta).

[244] M 11; M 204.

[245] Of the other civilian texts assigned a late date by Merlat (1960) 17 his no. 70 belongs to the Severan period (above, note 207); no. 205 is too fragmentary for reliable dating; no. 206 (fig. 3) rests on style only for its date; for no. 237 see above, **23**. The entry *Dolocenum* in the *Curiosum urbis Romae* of A.D. 357 may reflect a much earlier edition of that anti-Christian, i.e. religiously conservative document,—a protest from the grave against the new religion. (The same document lists in its *breviarium* two camps of the *equites singulares Augusti,* a branch of service long defunct, see Speidel, 1965, 92.)

If so, the reason is not far to seek. In A.D. 253 or 256 the Persians under Shapur I 'captured, burnt, destroyed, and pillaged' Doliche, as the King of Kings boasts in his *Res Gestae* incised upon the Kaabah of Zarathushtra at Naksh i Rustām (17):[246]

54 πάντα ἐκαύσαμεν καὶ ἠρημώσαμεν (καὶ ἠχμαλωτίσαμεν) καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν . . . Δολίχην πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Δοῦραν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ . . .

The ruin of the main sanctuary of Iuppiter Dolichenus at the hands of the Persians may well have discredited the god forever amongst the ranks of the army and apparently amongst civilians as well. So much so that fourth-century Christian polemics against the dying paganism did not see a need to even mention the once splendid religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus. If that is the case, then the religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus died for the same reason as the other pagan oriental religions: because they never cut themselves free from those national characteristics that gave them part of their strength—unlike Christianity, they never acquired true universality.[247]

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[246] Maricq (1965) 53. One may assume Doliche fell in the same campaign as Dura-Europos, for which see Honigmann-Maricq (1952) 131 ff.

[247] Nilsson (1974) 701.

13. CONCLUSION

The religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus is not an isolated phenomenon, it shares a number of characteristic features with the other oriental religions that swept through the Roman empire during the first three centuries of our era. Thus Mithras, Isis and Serapis, Dea Syria and Iuppiter Heliopolitanus etc., like Iuppiter Dolichenus, found their followers almost exclusively among the 'floating' population of the empire,—traders, slaves, soldiers, and aristocrats in the imperial service. By contrast, they gained very little adherence among the conservative people of the countryside or in cities with stable populations, witness the relatively high number of dedications in the city of Rome, in cosmopolitan Italy, and in the frontier provinces, compared to their relative absence from such interior provinces as Spain, Gaul, Greece, Asia, Syria, Egypt, and Africa.

Neither imperial religious policy nor priestly missionary zeal put pressure on individuals or groups to join these cults. Whether or not one wanted to become a worshipper was left to the individual's choice.[248] In the army a tendency to corporate worship may have brought together the uncommitted with the fervent believer in the ritual of some cult acts, but the various cults had their centers in private temples outside the camp and they were hardly any more subject to outside regulations and influences than in civilian society. Tolerance went as far as to allow soldiers in active service to be priests, officers were ready to lend their support, and no apparent attempt was made to direct the cults from on high. Hence, the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus was a truly religious mouvement.

The reason why Iuppiter Dolichenus in particular found so many adherents among the soldiers can be detected in his monuments: they evoke a vision of power, conspicuously expressed in the thunderbolt, the double ax, the bull, the Phrygian cap, the royal cuirass and sword,—powerful attributes of a *conservator totius mundi*, a world-saviour upholding the existing order of things. Such worship of the power and order manifest in the sky, in living nature, and in forceful rule must have appealed to people cut off from their traditional environment and enrolled in the service of the world-wide order that was the empire. Characteristically, god and emperor resembled each other. The god wore the emperor's cuirass, his sash, and his eagle-headed saber, while the emperor wielded the thunderbolt as another world saviour.[249]

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[248] For all these aspects see Toutain (1911) 259-268.

Still, the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus was not a specifically military religion. Civilians, including women, counted among his worshippers, and the preserved monuments show that among soldiers the cult included the same complex and exotic features as among civilians. The hypothesis that Iuppiter Dolichenus was a specifically military god must be abandoned, along with the notion of a spiritual poverty of 'the military mind' or of a simplification of the cult for the soldiers. Iuppiter Dolichenus appealed to soldiers —and to civilians—as a cosmic emperor who knew and forcefully protected his adherents, their families, and the empire. Alas, just in this essential promise he failed dismally: trust in his power vanished when his own sanctuary at Doliche fell to the Persian foe.

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[249] For the emperor's thunderbolt see Alföldi (1970) 238 f. Augustus was called σωτῆρ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου which is the exact Greek equivalent for *conservator totius poli*, cf. Nilsson (1974) 390. Aurelianus was *conservator orbis*, Dessau 579. Possibly the emperor and Iuppiter Dolichenus were seen as working closely together, cf. the seal of Doliche (fig. 24) where the god shakes hands with a Roman *imperator*.

ABBREVIATIONS

CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, 2 vols., Den Haag 1956, 1960.
Dessau	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1892-1916 (Reprint 1962).
Dura-Rep.	*The Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters*, ed. M. I. Rostovtzeff *et al.*, 9 vols. Cambridge/Mass. 1929-1952.
IG Bulg	G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae,* Sofia 1958 ff.
IGL Syr	*Inscriptions grècques et latines de la Syrie*. Ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, *et al*, Paris, 1929 ff.
IGUR	L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae,* Rome, 1968 ff.
M	P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*. Paris-Rennes, 1951
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Leipzig 1890 ff.
RIB	R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain,* Oxford 1965.

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INDEX

Items only mentioned, but not discussed, are omitted from this index

1. GENERAL

ad leg(ionem) 51
ad(iutor ?) leg(ionis) 51
aedituus 51 ff.
ala Commagenorum 7
Anahita 23, 37
Apollo 12 ff., 21 ff., 34
army
  corporate dedications 5, 71, 76
  passwords 71
  priests 52 ff.
  religious development 20, 53
  spiritual life 11, 77
  standards 52, 55 ff.
Augustus 3, 64, 66

Caelestis 35, 50
candidatus 48 f.
Castores 22, 44, 63
centurions 6 ff., 56, 68, 70 f., 74
Christianity 64, 74 f.
Cilicia 4
circitor 73
cohortes Commagenorum 7 f.
cohors Ituraeorum 4
Commagene 1, 4, 7 f., 27, 45, 46
conservator totius poli (mundi) 2, 27, 30, 77
Corstopitum 33 ff.
cult standards 52, 55 ff.
Curiosum urbis Romae 74

Dacia 74
δεξιώσις 3
deus patrius 5, 8, 29
Diana 12 ff., 21 ff., 34
Doliche 1, 3, 75, 77
d(ominus) n(oster) 17

eagle 25, 28, 56 ff.
emperor 23, 41, 65, 71, 77
  dedications for his victory 44
equites singulares Augusti 12 ff., 19 ff., 24, 28 f., 33, 47, 50, 52, 74
exercitator 13

Feriale Duranum 64
Flavius Barhadadi 50 ff.

Genii of army units 50
Germany 4, 10

hand symbol 56 f., 60
Hatra 60
Heddernheim 4, 27
Hercules 36 f.

inscriptions
  new readings, dates 2
  dating criteria 16 ff.
Iran 23
Isis and Serapis 26 ff., 41
Sextus Iulius Maior 4, 66
Iuno Dolichena 22, 35
Iuppiter Depulsor 73 f.
Iuppiter Dolichenus
  adherents 38 f., 68
  aeternus 27
  appeal to the soldiers 10 f., 34, 38 ff., 76 f.
  area of worship 38 f.
  cosmic triad 25
  cosmic victoriousness 43 f., 77
  dress and attributes 1, 39 ff., 76 f.
  iconography 25
  literature 1
  military vs. civilian worship 11 ff., 20, 28, 31, 33, 36 f., 38 ff., 50, 77
  name 1
  not the official god of the army 62 f.
  pantheon 21 ff., 50

  portrayed 1, 3, 15 f.
  romanization 1

Lambaesis 4, 66

Quintus Marcius Artemidorus 14, 19, 22

Mars 37
Maximinus Thrax 72
Minerva 36 f., 42
Mithras 4, 5, 10 f., 21, 23, 29 f., 34, 47 ff., 50 f., 76
  Magi 48
monuments
  altars M 176 and M 177 26
  new 14
  newly dated 2
  reliefs 21
  'sacrifice of the tribune' at Dura 52, 61
  sun bust from Vetus Salina 31 f., 34, 43
  votive tablets 25, 36, 45, 55 ff., 61 f.
Moon goddess 15 f., 25 ff., 34

Nemesis 23

Obernburg 9
officers 4, 66 f., 68 ff., 76
oriental religions IX, 3, 4 f., 39, 47, 53, 64 f., 75 f.
Orientals 7 ff., 39, 72

Pannonia 9
parade armour 45
priests 13 ff., 19, 35 f., 46 ff., 63, 76
  names 46, 51
primus pilus 62

res gestae divi Saporis 75
Rome 12 ff., 20, 26, 28, 33, 76
  garrisons 20
  pomerium 20

Severi emperors 10, 65, 71 f.
Simia 58 ff., 63
stars 31
Sun god 15 f., 25 ff., 34, 64
syncretism 28, 30 f., 35 f.

temples 2, 4, 19 f., 29, 50, 67, 72 f., 75 f.
  in Doliche 3, 75, 77
  in Rome 12, 19 ff., 34
  near camps 19
tree 32, 34, 42 f.
Trajan 17 f.

ubi ferrum nascitur 44 f.
Marcus Ulpius Chresimus 13 ff., 19, 21, 26, 46 f., 50, 54

Victoria 11, 34, 43 f.
Westerners 9

2. INSCRIPTIONS

CIL	III	3342	65
		3343	65
		7729	48
		10297	69
	VI	414	70
		30941	30 f.
		31181	15
		31187	12 ff., 47, 50
	VIII	2680 = 18221	4, 66
	XI	6	69
	XIII	6623	6, 43, 50
		6646	9
		7341a	40, 72
		7457 a & b	5
		7786	49, 73
		8201	67 f.
		11780	6
		11781	6
		11782	70
		11783	70
		11811	8
	XIV	22	69
		110	5
AE	1950	126	69
	1959	99	22
	1965	30	50
	1968	453	5
	1971	28	49
		381	73

1972 490 68

RIB 320 67
1131 35
1137 34 f.
1220 70

M 25 54
38 74
44 73
65 56
66 56
71 36
73 36
108 48, 73
113 36
153 56
200 30
202 23, 31, 74
203 30
206 26 f.
221 61 f.
290 67
292 67

CIMRM 2296 4

du Buisson (1937) 80 58
Dura-Rep. no. 971 7, 73
Dura-Rep. no. 972 7, 73

Filzinger (1975) 16, 46 68
Fink (1971) 50 71, 73

IGLSyr 189 3

Nesselhauf-Lieb (1959) 151 6, 43

LIST OF FIGURES

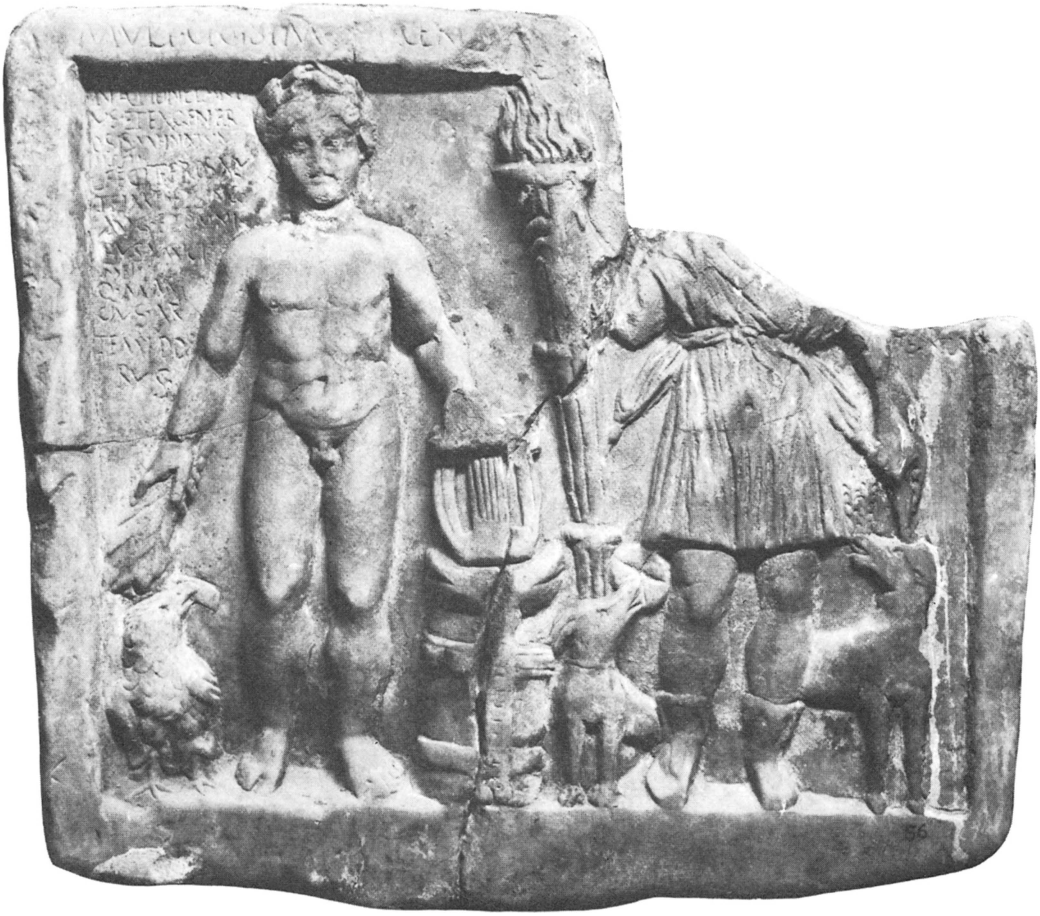
Frontispiece. Bronze statuette of Iuppiter Dolichenus from Mauer-an-der-Url/Noricum. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

1. Apollo-Artemis relief from Rome. Musei Capitolini, Rome. Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, Inst. Neg. 76.1793. See p. 12 ff.
2. Sol Invictus relief from Rome. Musei Capitolini. (After *Bulletino della Commissione archeologica communale di Roma* 1881, pl. V). See p. 14 ff., 25 ff., 34.
3. Relief of P. Ignatius Fructus from Rome. Musei Capitolini, Rome. Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, Inst. Neg. 76.1799. See p. 34, 40.
4. Frieze from a temple at Corbridge/Britannia. Corbridge Museum. Photo The Warburg Institute, London. See p. 33 ff., 43.
5. Altar of Flavius Barhadadi from Apulum/Dacia. Museul de Istorie, Alba Iulia. See p. 35, 50 ff.
6. Cast bronze tablet from Heddernheim/Upper Germany. Wiesbaden Museum. See p. 27, 41.
7. Cast bronze tablet from Heddernheim/Upper Germany. Wiesbaden Museum. See p. 28.
8. Bronze votive tablet from Iasen/Upper Moesia. Now lost. (After Kazarow, 1932, fig. 105). See p. 16, 55 ff.
9. Bronze votive tablet from Kömlöd/Lower Pannonia, front side. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest. See p. 36 f., 43, 56, 60, 62 f., 65.
10. Bronze votive tablet from Kömlöd/Lower Pannonia, back side. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest. See p. 25, 43, 56.
11. Bronze votive tablet from Mauer-an-der-Url/Noricum. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien. See p. 25, 56, 60.
12. Bronze votive tablet from Mauer-an-der-Url/Noricum. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien. See p. 25, 57, 60 f.

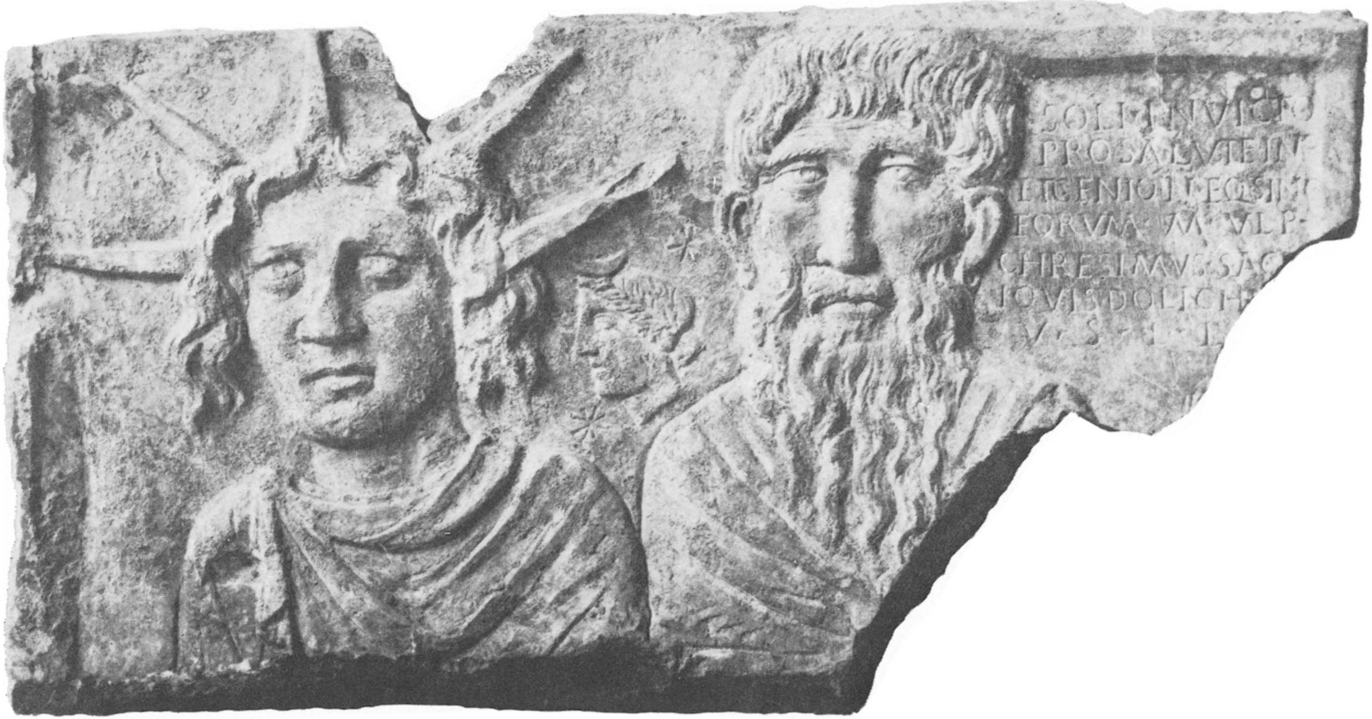
13. Silver votive tablet from Heddernheim/Upper Germany. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenmuseum, Berlin. See p. 40, 72.
14. Silver votive tablet from Heddernheim/Upper Germany. British Museum, London. See p. 41, 63.
15. Relief from Hatra/Parthia. (After Ingholt, 1954, pl. VII/1) See p. 60.
16. Relief of Atargatis and Hadad with cult standard from Dura-Europos/Syria. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven/Connecticut. See p. 58, 61.
17. Drawing, scratched on plaster, showing cult vexillum with discs and bird, from Dura-Europos/Syria. (After Dura-Rep. 7-8, pl. 57). See p. 59.
18. Votive bronze hand from Heddernheim/Upper Germany. Collection of Count Solm at Assenheim. Photo E. Schwertheim, Frankfurt. See p. 60.
19. Sword showing standards. From Oosterbeek/Lower Germany. Rijksmuseum, Leiden. See p. 59 f.
20. Chapel of the legionary standards on the 'sword of Tiberius' from Mainz/Upper Germany. British Museum, London. See p. 62.
21. Altar from Obernburg/Upper Germany. Stadtmuseum, Aschaffenburg. See p. 9, 34, 42.
22. Gilt bronze votive tablet from Aalen/Raetia. Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart. See p. 34, 36.
23. Marble statuette from Iasen/Upper Moesia. Widin Museum. See p. 42.
24. Seal imprint on clay from Doliche. (After Seyrig 1953, 116). See p. 3.

Drawing in the text: Incense-burner from Dura-Europos/Syria. (After Dura-Rep. 1, pl. 5) Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven/Connecticut. See p. 59.

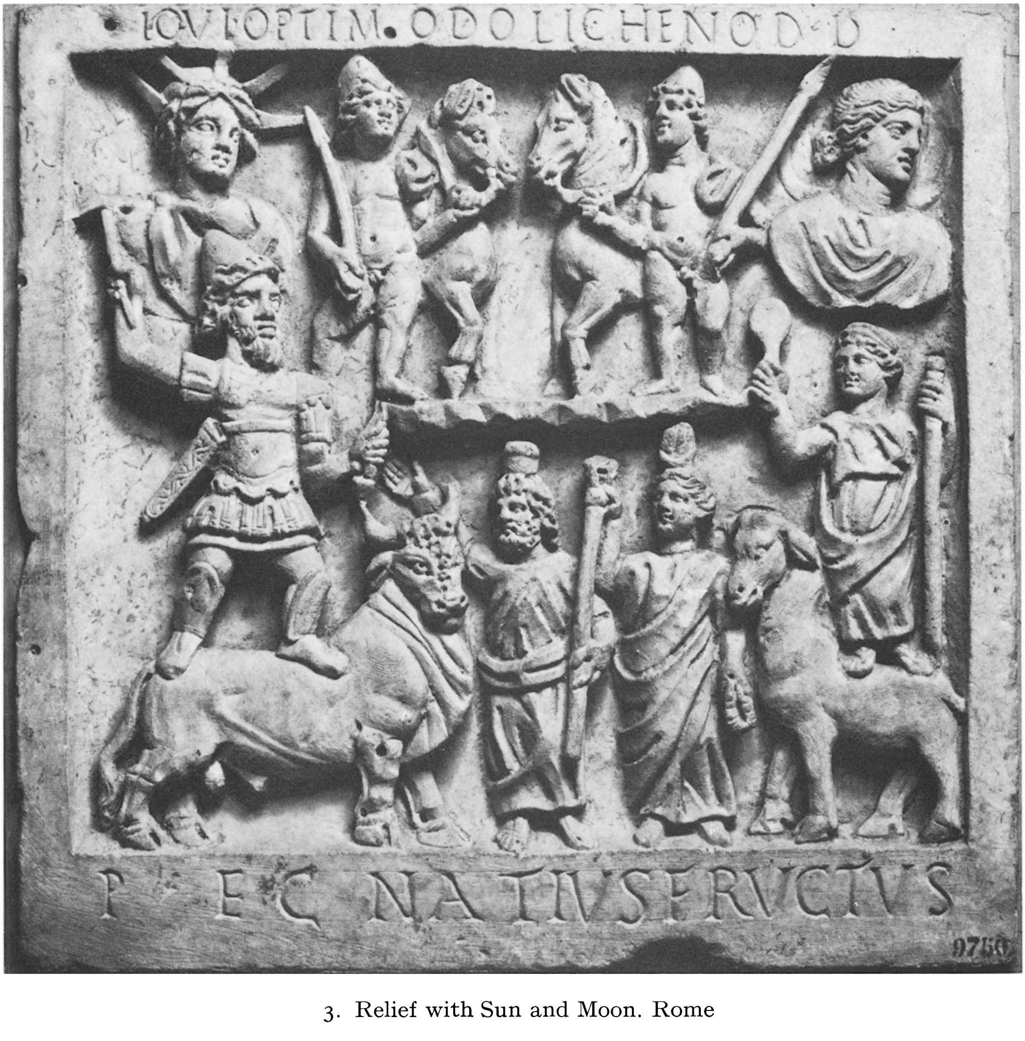
FIGURES 1-24 AND MAP



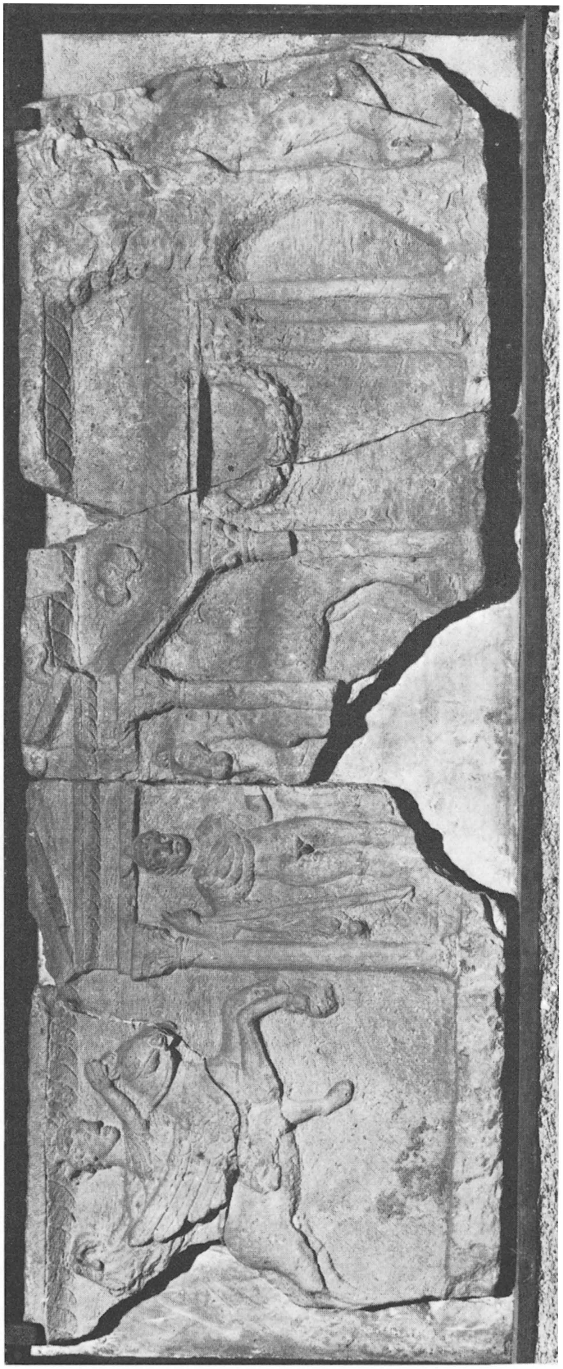
1. Apollo and Artemis. Rome


SOLI INVICTO
PRO SALVTE IM
ET GENIO I EQ SIN
FORVM M VLP
CHRESIMVS SAC
IOVIS DOLICH
V S L L

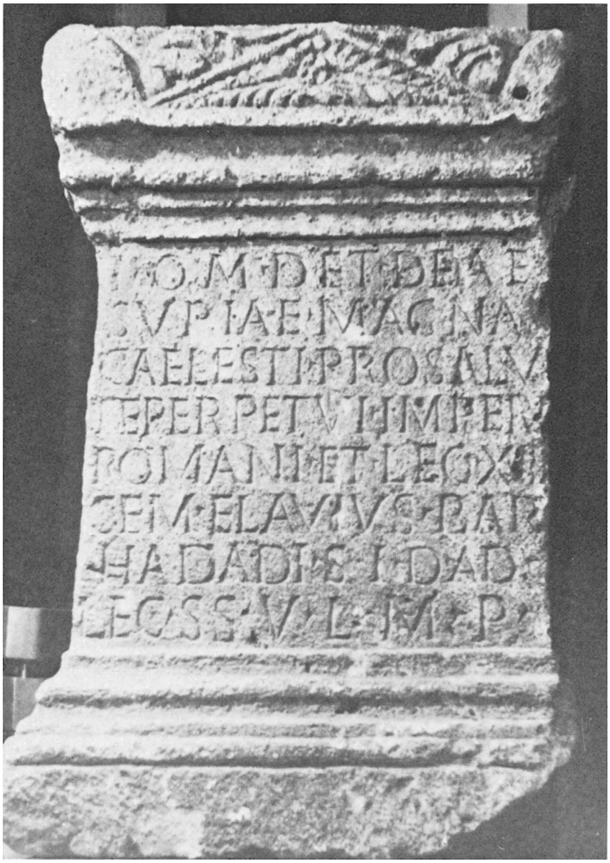
2. Sol Invictus. Rome


IOVI OPTIM. O DOLICHENO D D
P E C NATIVS FRVCTVS
9750

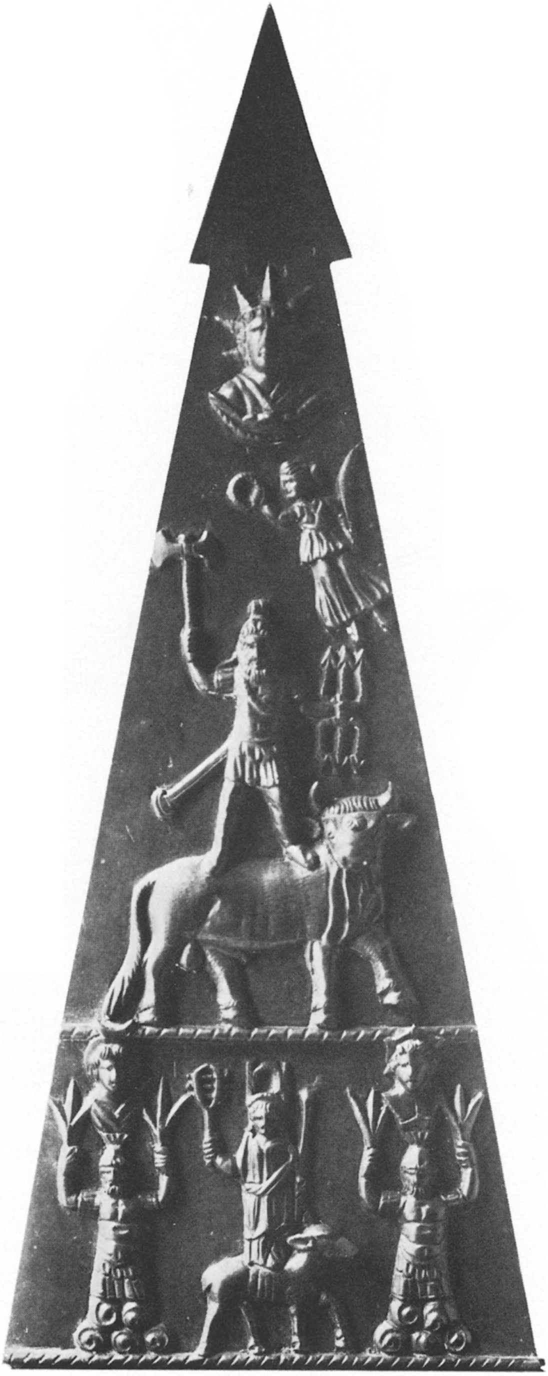
3. Relief with Sun and Moon. Rome



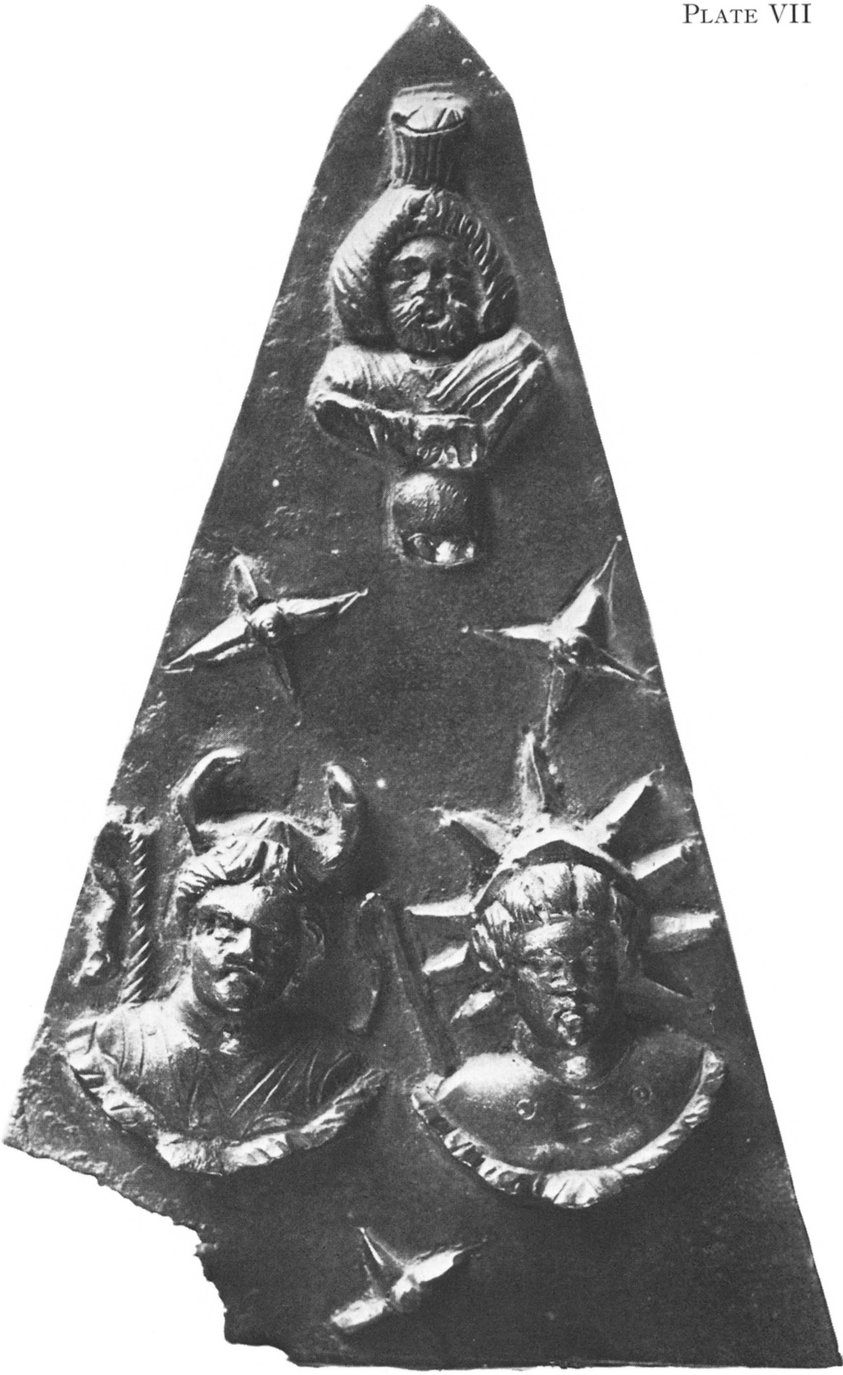
4. Sun God and Dioscure. Corbridge


I·O·M·D·ET·DEAE
SVRIAE·MAGNA
CAELESTI·PRO·SALV
TE·PERPETVI·IMPERI
ROMANI·ET·LEG·XIII
GEM·FLAVIVS·BAR
HADADI·S·I·D·AD
LEG·S·S·V·L·M·P

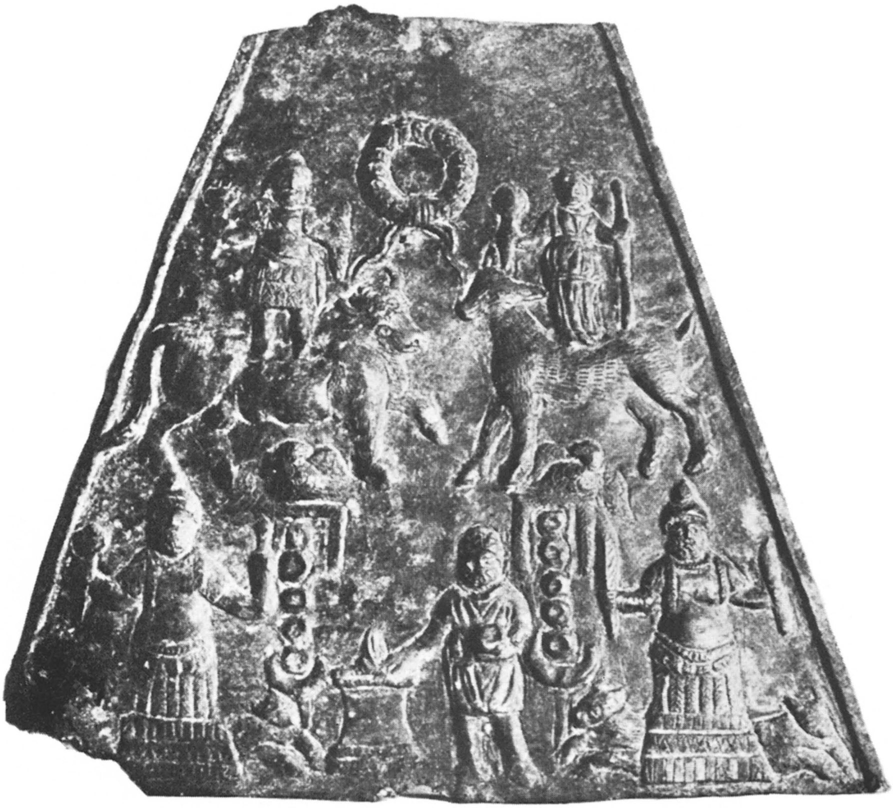
5. Altar of Flavius Barhadadi. Alba Iulia



6. Bronze votive tablet. Heddernheim

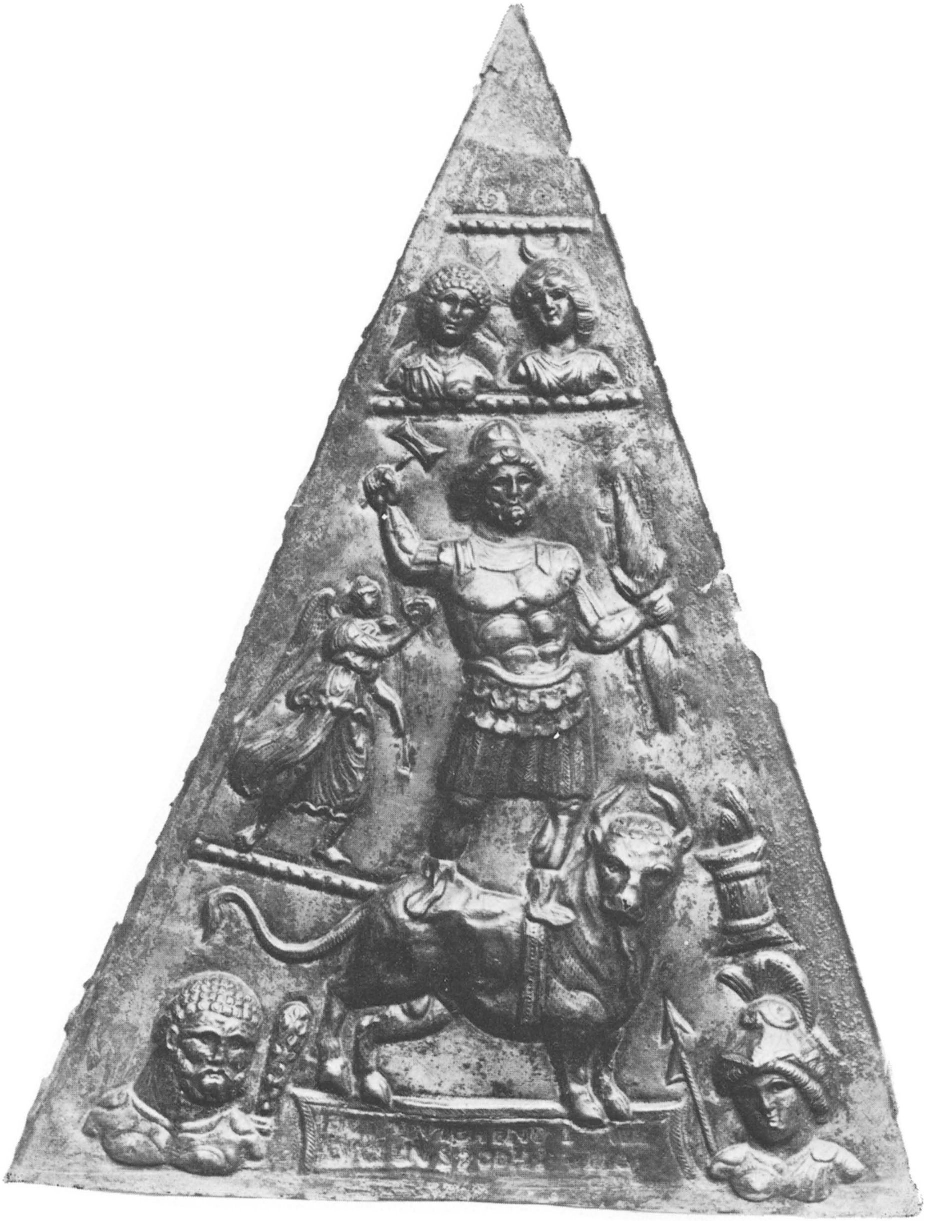


7. Bronze votive tablet. Heddernheim

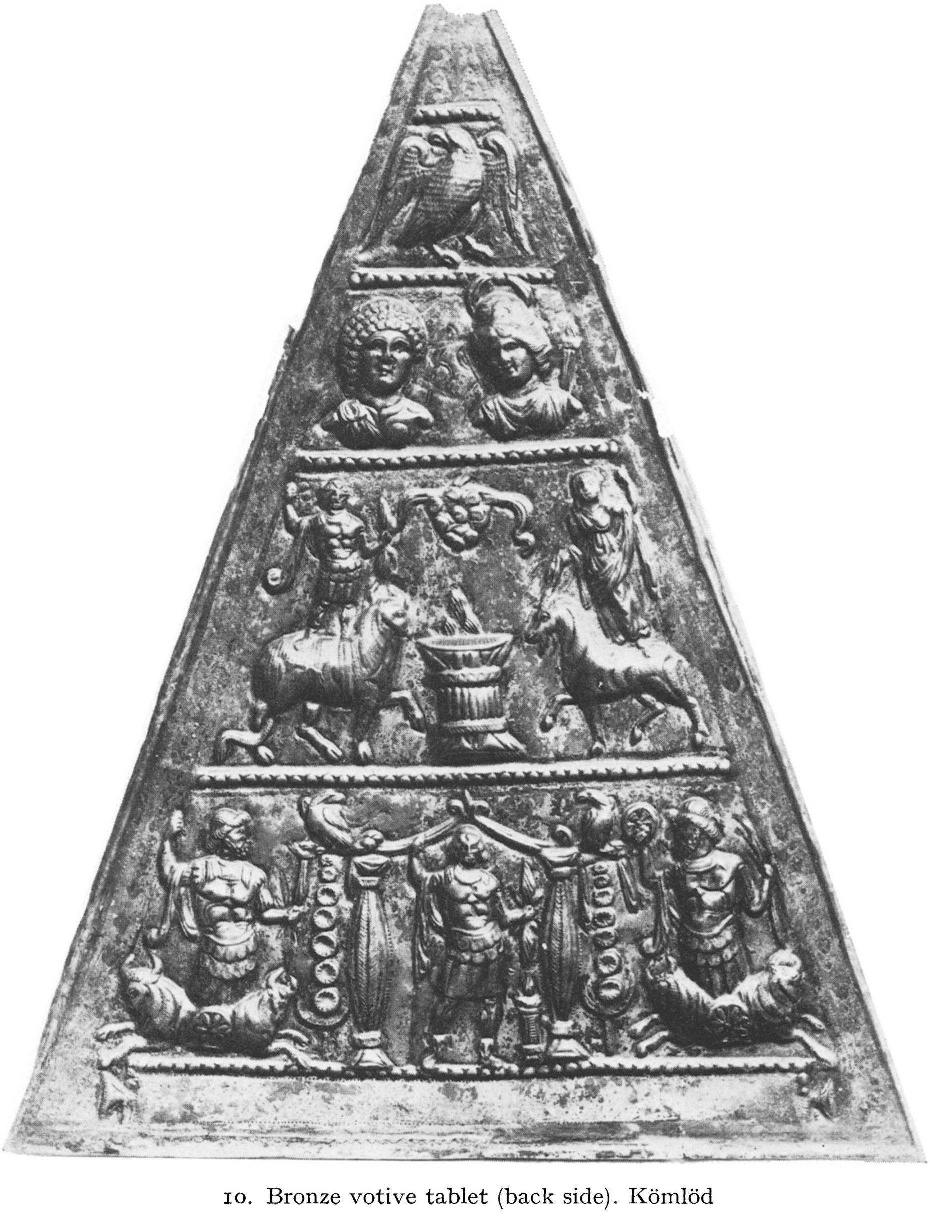


8. Bronze votive tablet. Iasen

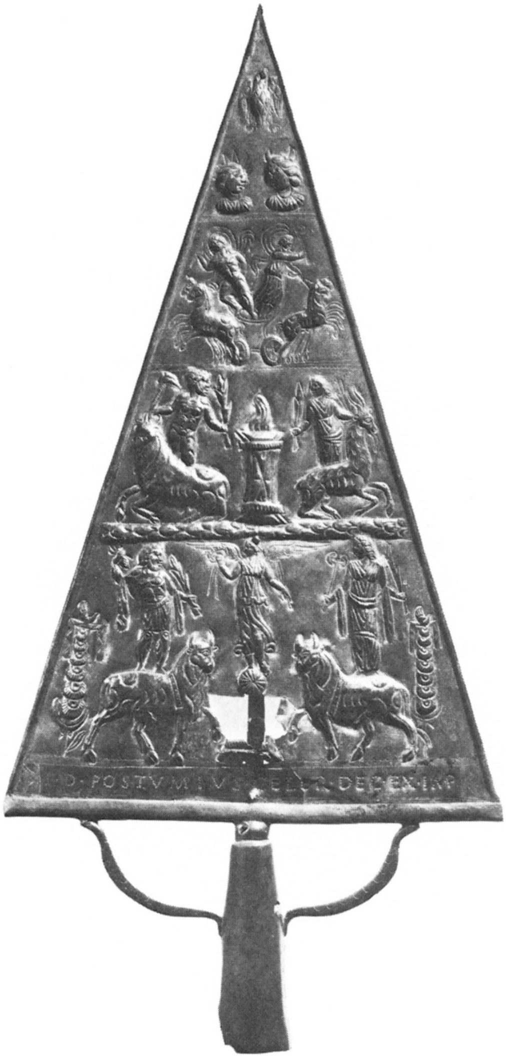
PLATE IX



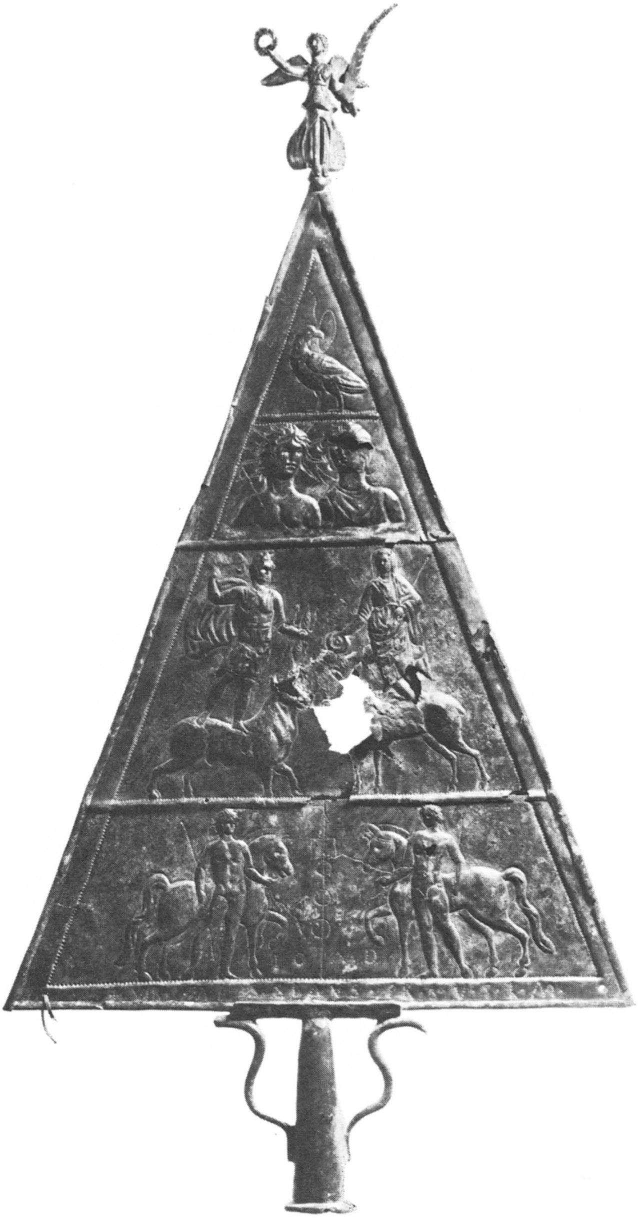
9. Bronze votive tablet (front side). Kömlöd



10. Bronze votive tablet (back side). Kömlöd

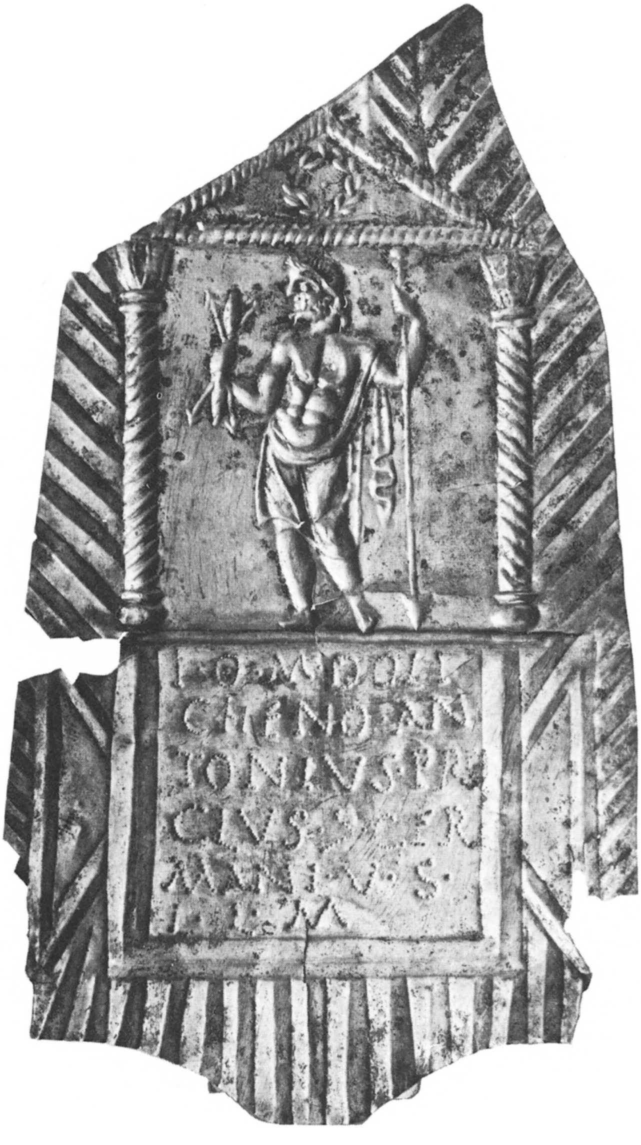

D·POSTVMIVS
DEC EX IMP

11. Bronze votive tablet. Mauer an der Url

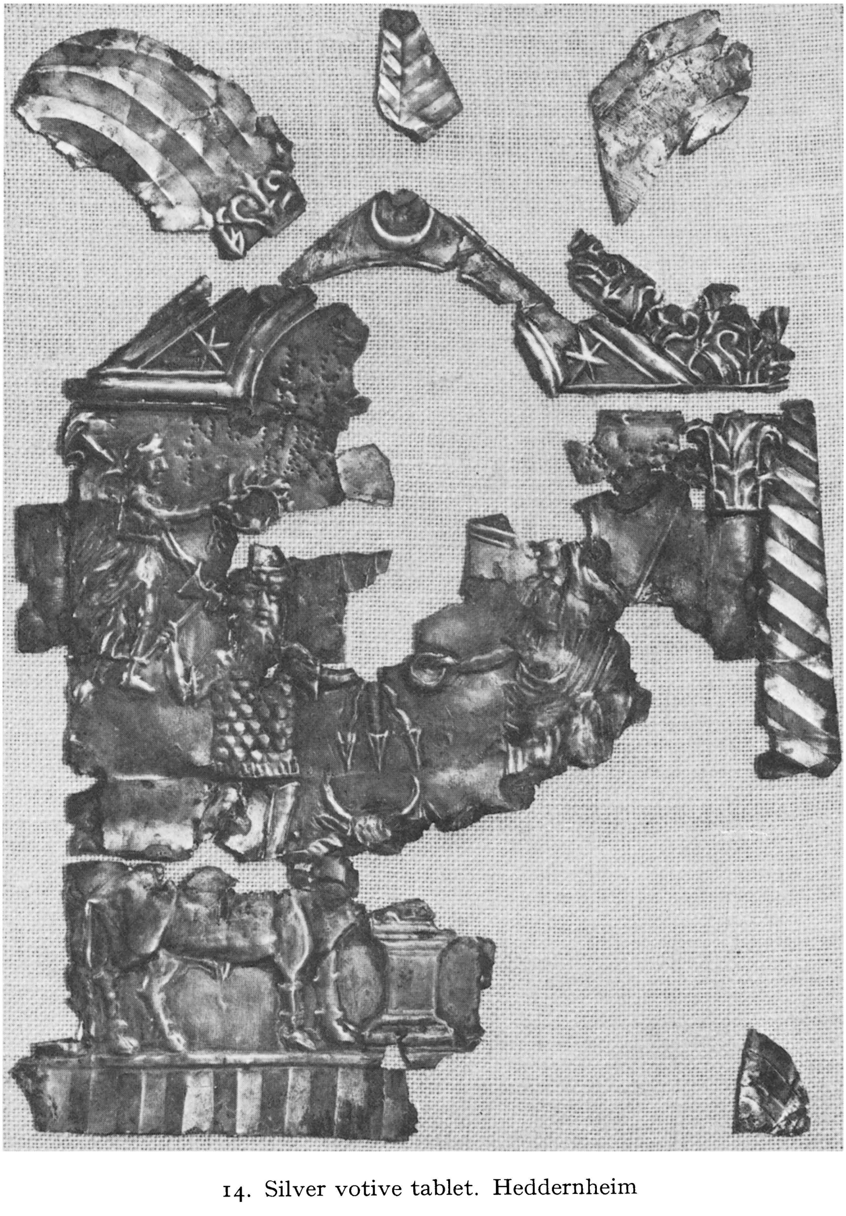


12. Bronze votive tablet. Mauer an der Url

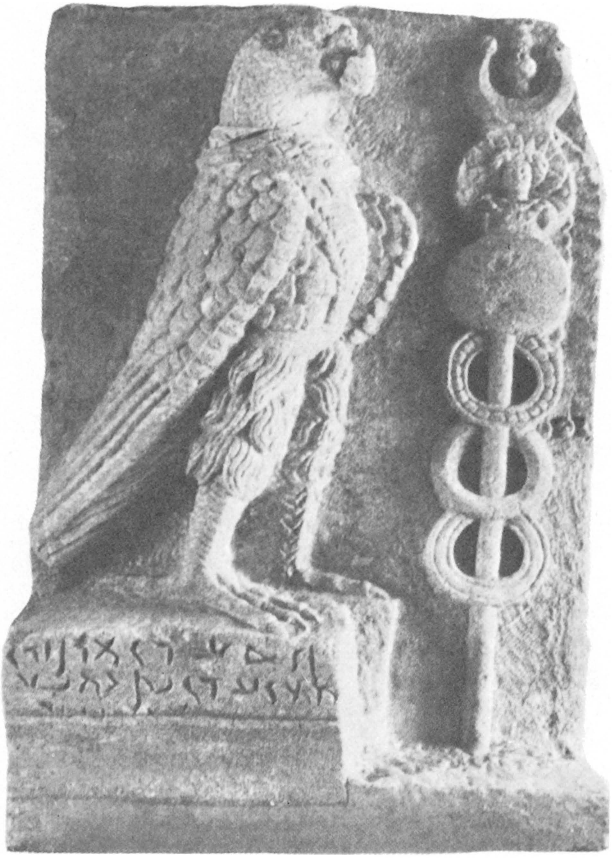
PLATE XIII


I·O·M·DOLI
CHENO·PRI
IONIVS·PR
CLVS·GER
MANI·V·S·
L·L·M

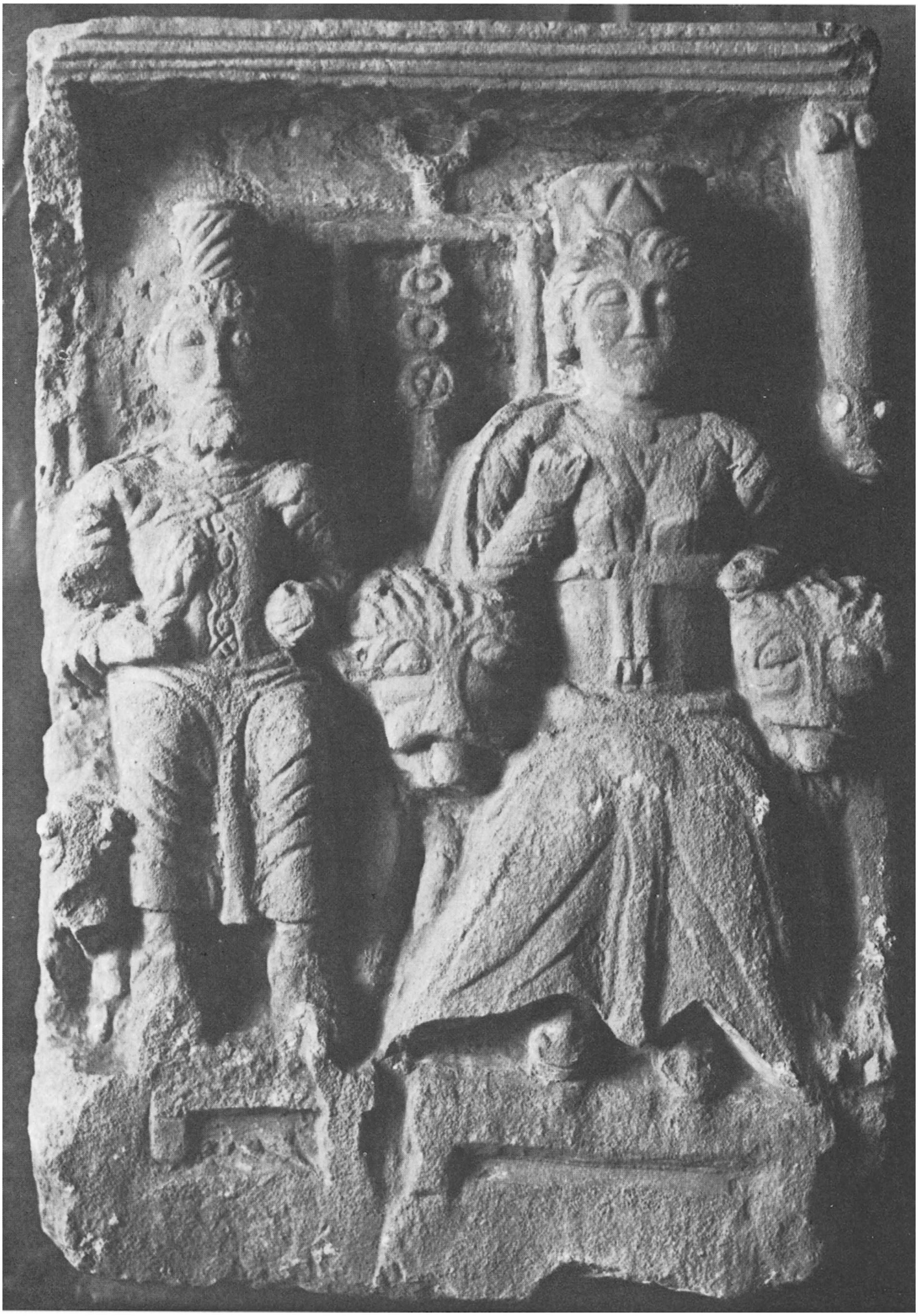
13. Silver votive tablet. Heddernheim



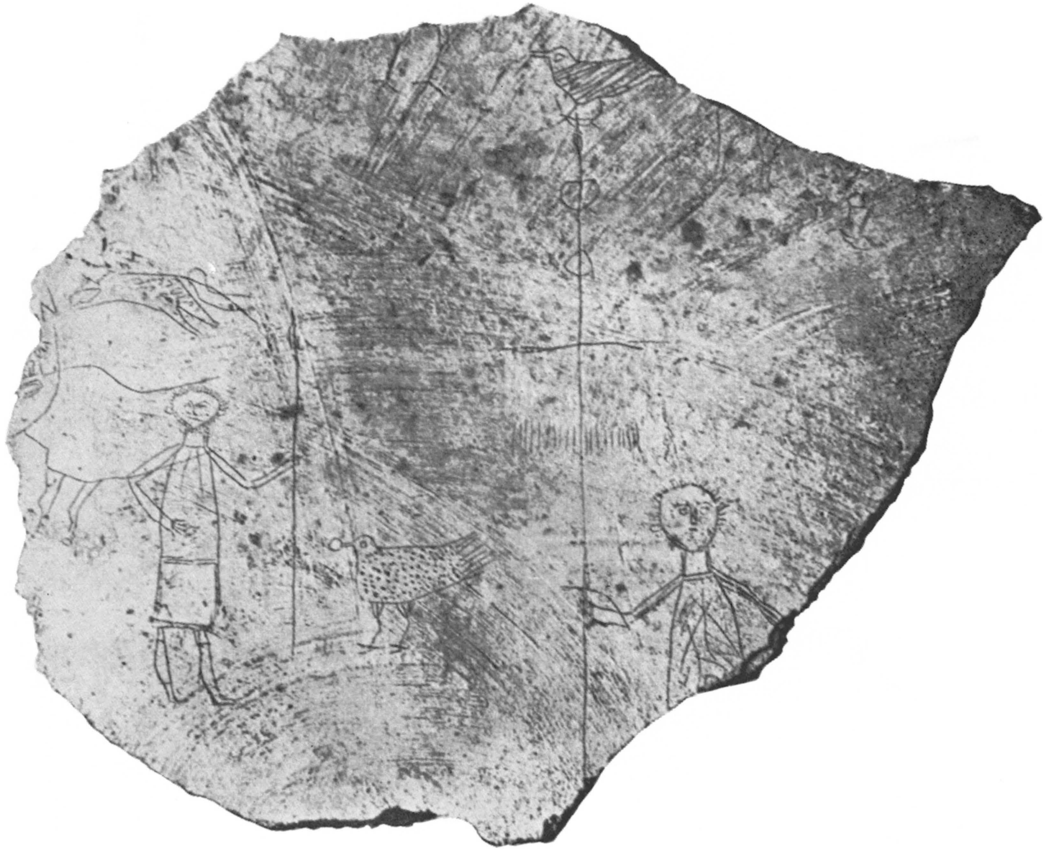
14. Silver votive tablet. Heddernheim



15. Relief with cult standard. Hatra

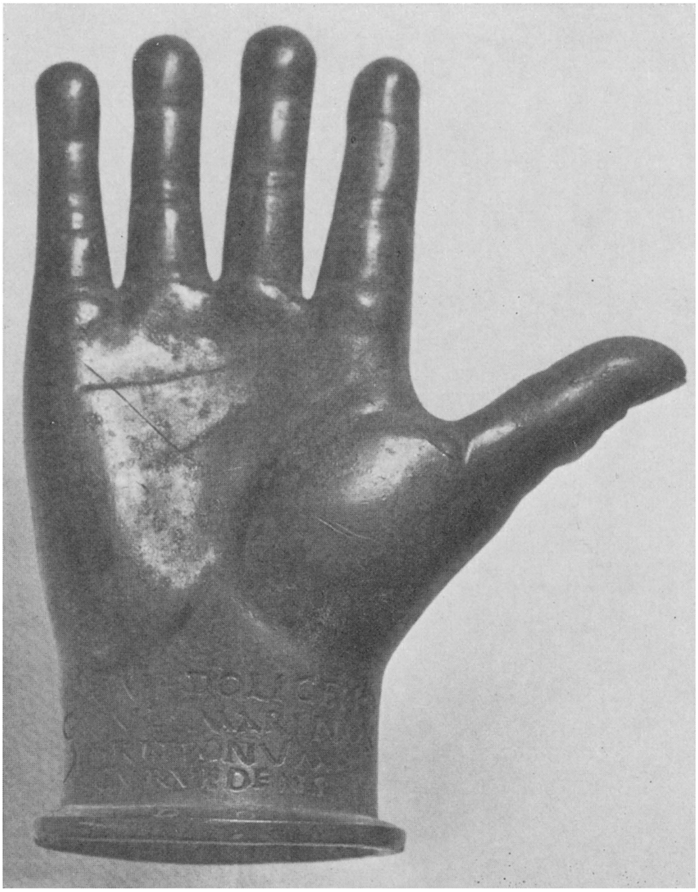


16. Atargatis and Hadad. Dura-Europos

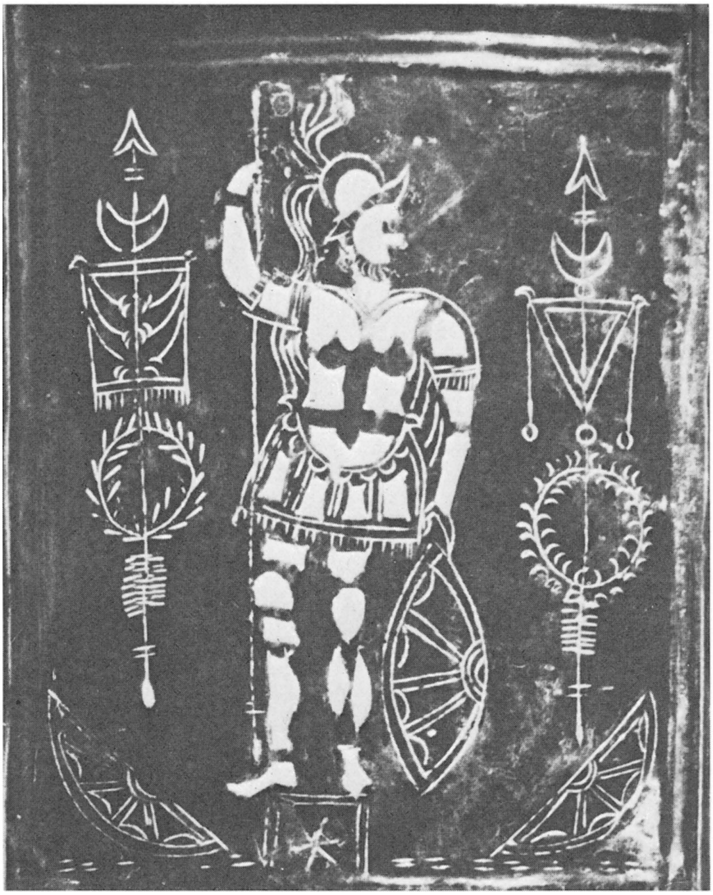


17. Drawing on plaster. Dura-Europos

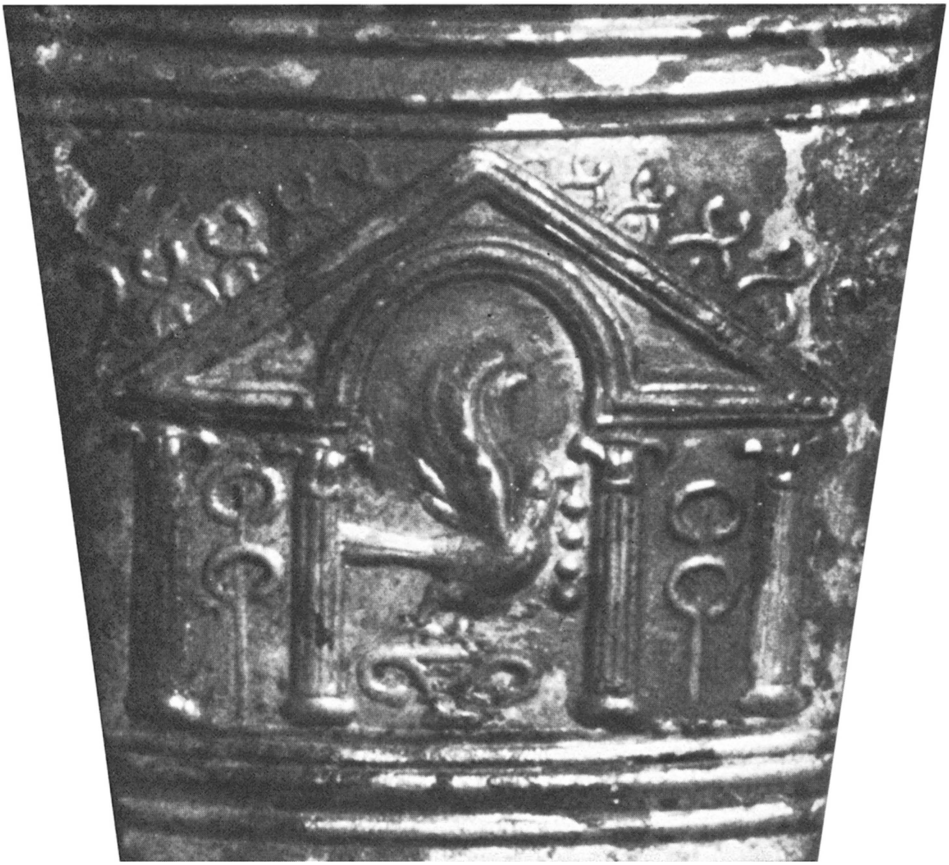
Plate XVIII



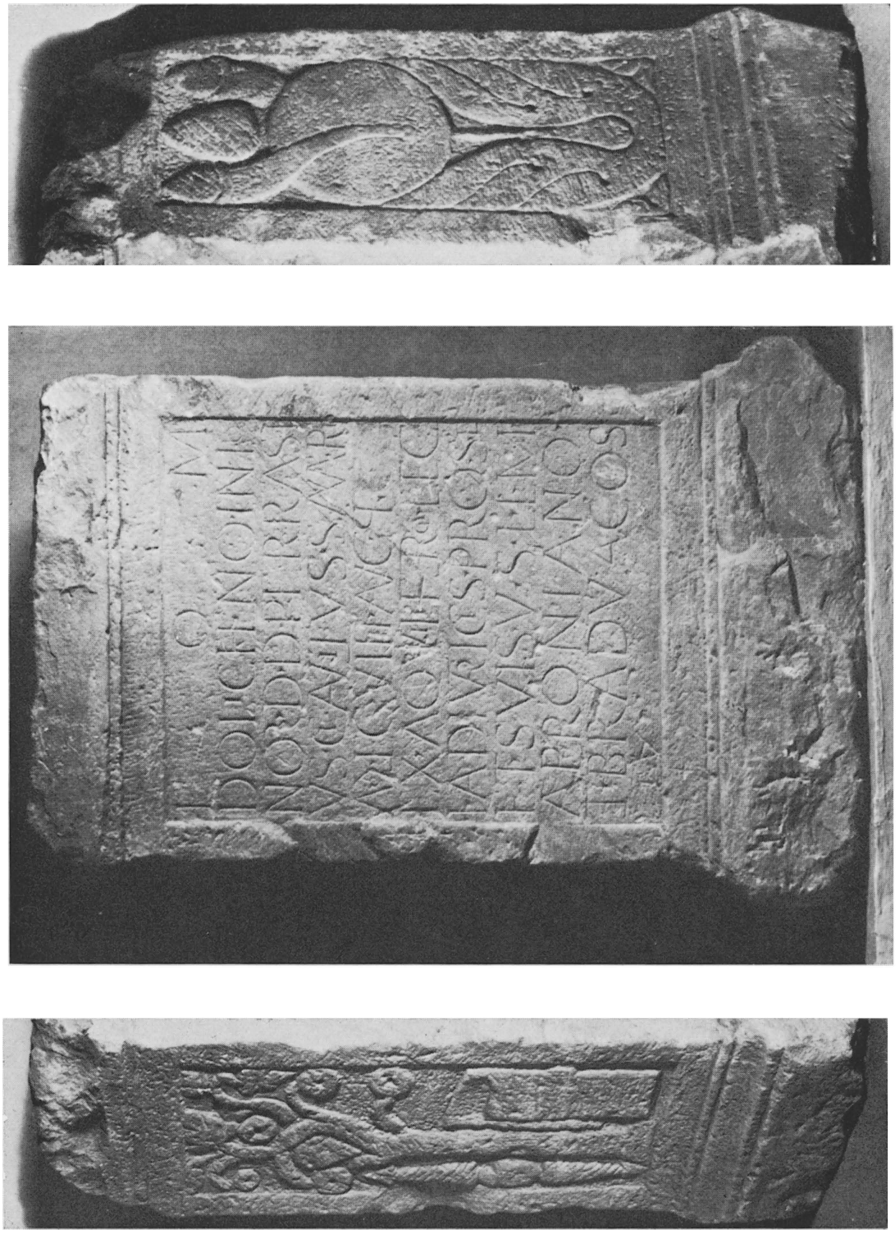
18. Bronze votive hand. Heddernheim



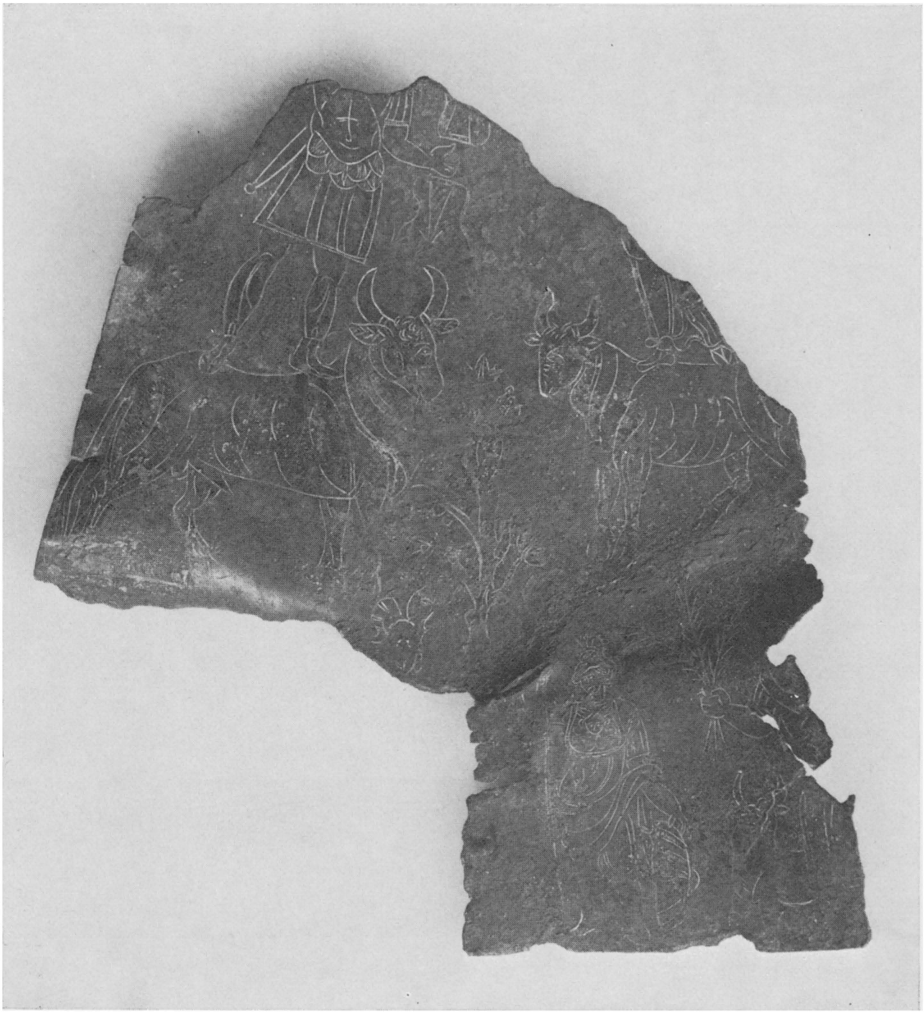
19. Sword sheath with standards. Oosterbeek



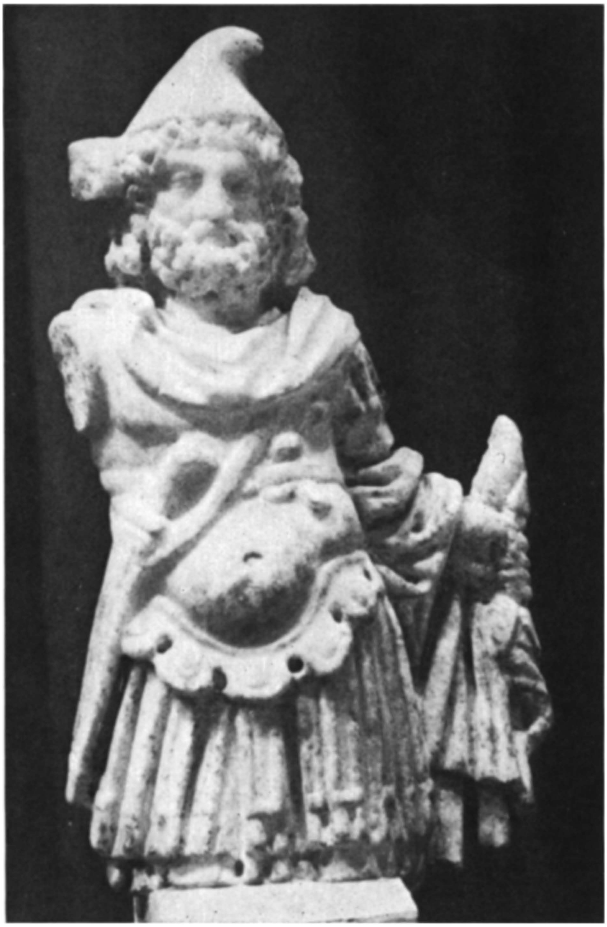
20. Sword sheath with chapel of standards. Mainz



21. Altar with reliefs. Obernburg

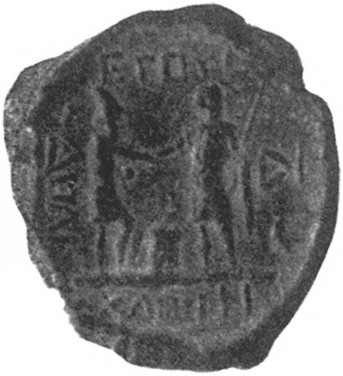


22. Bronze votive tablet. Aalen

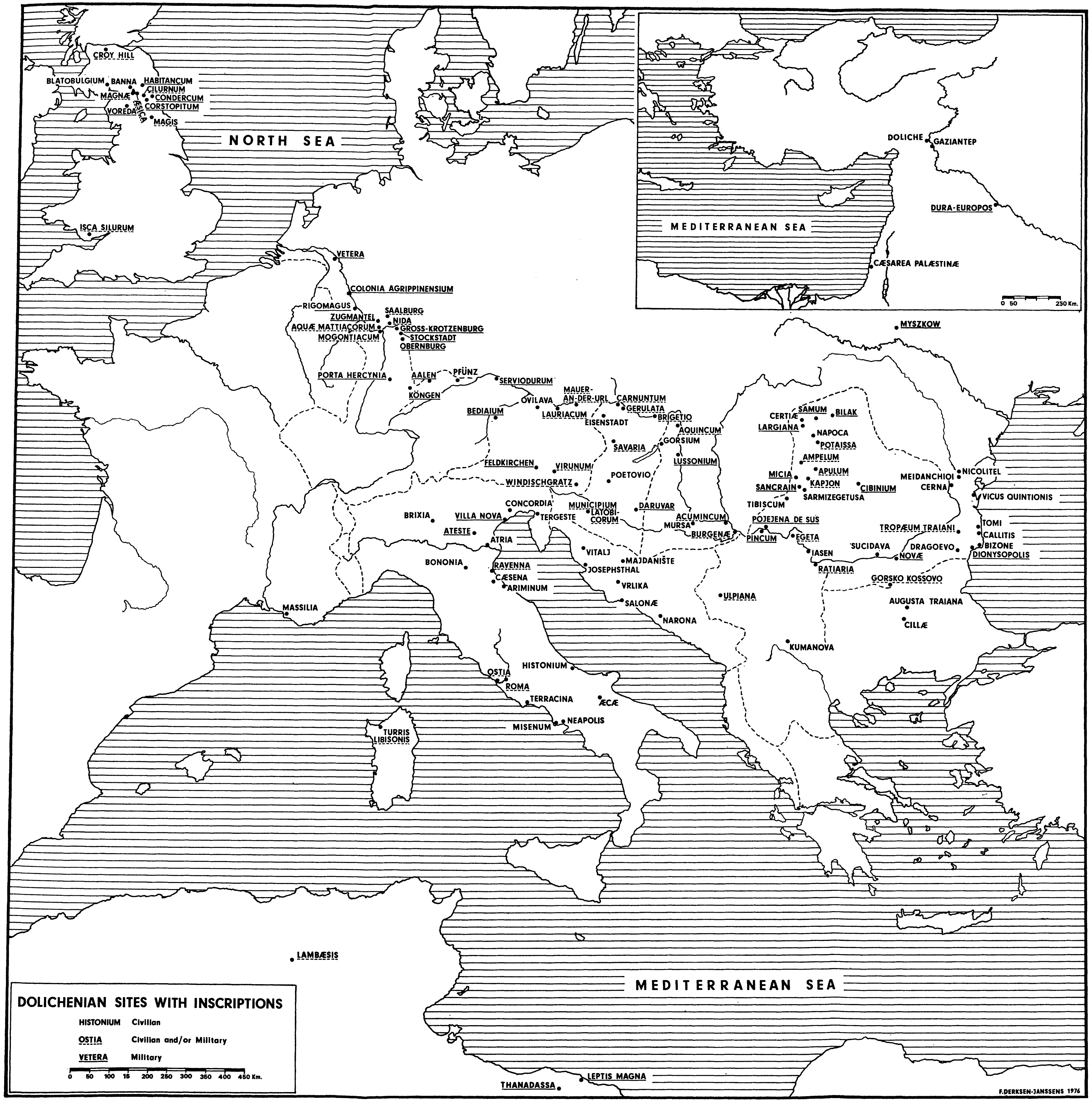


23. Statuette. Iasen

PLATE XXIV



24. Seal imprint on clay. Doliche


DOLICHENIAN SITES WITH INSCRIPTIONS
HISTONIUM Civilian
OSTIA Civilian and/or Military
VETERA Military
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400 450 Km.
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CROY HILL
BLATOBULGIUM
BANNA
HABITANCUM
CILURNUM
MAGNÆ
AESICA
CONDERCUM
CORSTOPITUM
VOREDA
MAGIS
ISCA SILURUM
VETERA
COLONIA AGRIPPINENSIUM
RIGOMAGUS
SAALBURG
ZUGMANTEL
NIDA
AQUÆ MATTIACORUM
GROSS-KROTZENBURG
MOGONTIACUM
STOCKSTADT
OBERNBURG
PORTA HERCYNIA
AALEN
PFÜNZ
SERVIODURUM
KÖNGEN
MAUER-AN-DER-URL
CARNUNTUM
OVILAVA
GERULATA
BEDAIUM
LAURIACUM
EISENSTADT
BRIGETIO
AQUINCUM
SAVARIA
GORSIUM
LUSSONIUM
FELDKIRCHEN
VIRUNUM
POETOVIO
WINDISCHGRATZ
CONCORDIA
MUNICIPIUM LATOBICORUM
DARUVAR
BRIXIA
VILLA NOVA
TERGESTE
ACUMINCUM
MURSA
BURGENÆ
ATESTE
ATRIA
VITALJ
MAJDANIŠTE
JOSEPHSTHAL
BONONIA
RAVENNA
CÆSENA
ARIMINUM
VRLIKA
SALONÆ
NARONA
MASSILIA
HISTONIUM
OSTIA
ROMA
TERRACINA
ÆCÆ
MISENUM
NEAPOLIS
TURRIS LIBISONIS
LAMBÆSIS
THANADASSA
LEPTIS MAGNA
MYSZKOW
CERTIÆ
SAMUM
BILAK
LARGIANA
NAPOCA
POTAISSA
AMPELUM
MICIA
APULUM
SANCRAIN
KAPJON
CIBINIUM
SARMIZEGETUSA
MEIDANCHIOI
NICOLITEL
CERNA
VICUS QUINTIONIS
TIBISCUM
POJEJENA DE SUS
PINCUM
EGETA
TROPÆUM TRAIANI
TOMI
CALLITIS
BIZONE
DIONYSOPOLIS
IASEN
SUCIDAVA
NOVÆ
DRAGOEVO
RATIARIA
GORSKO KOSSOVO
ULPIANA
AUGUSTA TRAIANA
CILLÆ
KUMANOVA
DOLICHE
GAZIANTEP
DURA-EUROPOS
CÆSAREA PALÆSTINÆ
0 50 250 Km.
F. DERKSEN-JANSSENS 1976

Aalen	**39**
Acumincum	M 61-64
Aecae	M 251
Aesica	M 277; 278
Ampelum	M 27-29; **51**
Apulum	M 24-26; **28**; **29**
Aquae Mattiacorum	M 335
Aquincum	M 71-72; AE 1953, 4
Ariminum	M 260
Ateste	M 249
Atria	M 248
Augusta Traiana	M 8; AE 1972, 555 f.
Banna	M 280
Bedaium	M 145
Bilak	M 17
Bizone	Tačeva-Hitova (1974)
Blatobulgium	M 282
Bononia	M 263
Brigetio	M 81-105
Brixia	M 250
Burgenae	M 60
Caesarea Palestinae	Bulletin Epigr. 1967, 643
Caesena	M 262
Callatis	M 16
Carnuntum	M 106-121; AE 1953, 3; **26**
Cerna	Tačeva-Hitova 1976, no. 4
Certiae	AE 1971, 392
Cibinium	CIL III, 1614
Cillae	M 15
Cilurnum	M 275 f.
Colonia Agrippinensis	**38**
Concordia	**18**
Condercum	M 274
Corstopitum	**25**
Croy Hill	M 283
Daruvar	M 75 f.
Dionysopolis	AE 1972, 505
Doliche	M 4; Seyrig (1950) = fig. 24
Dragoevo	M 11
Dura-Europos	**9**; **10**; **49**
Egeta	**3**
Eisenstadt (Müllendorf)	AE 1966, 291
Feldkirchen	Dolenz (1954)
Gaziantep	M 3
Gerulata	AE 1972, 445-6
Gorsium	M 70
Gorsko Kossovo	M 10
Gross-Krotzenburg	M 324
Habitancum	**47**
Histonium	M 252
Iasen	M 48-51
Isca Silurum	**37**
Josephsthal	M 59
Kapjon	M 18
Köngen	M 299
Kumanovo	M 54
Lambaesis	**1**; **13**; **35**; **36**
Largiana	M 19
Lauriacum	Noll (1976)
Leptis Magna	M 284
Lussonium (Kömlöd)	**30**; **41**
Magis	RIB 1022 cf. 1023; AE 1967, 259
Magnae	M 279
Majdaniste	AE 1968, 415
Mauer-an-der-Url	M 149-165; **31**; **32**
Meidanchioi	M 14
Micia	**11**
Misenum	M 254-255
Moguntiacum	M 309-311; **12**
Municipium Latobicorum	M 73-4
Mursa	Bulat-Pinterović (1971)
Myszkow	M 41
Napoca	M 20-21
Narona	M 55
Neapolis	M 253
Nicolitel	M 13
Nida (Heddernheim)	M 312-23; **50**
Novae	M 9; AE 1966, 346
Obernburg	**6**; **7**; **14**
Ostia	M 264-266; **2**; **42**
Ovilava	M 146
Pfünz	M 169-174
Pincum	M 52
Poetovio	AE 1966, 297
Pojejena des Sus	**40**
Porta Hercynia	M 298
Potaissa	AE 1967, 399
Ratiaria	M 42-46; **52**
Ravenna	M 258-9; **43**
Rigomagus	**27**
Roma	M 167-245; AE 1971, 28; **15**; **16**; **17**; **19**; **20**; **21**; **22**; **23**; **34**; **48**
Saalburg	M 325-333; **4**
Salonae	M 56
Samum	AE 1957, 372
Sancrain	M 22
Sarmizegetusa	M 32-34
Savaria	M 77 f; AE 1972, 384-7
Serviodurum	M 175
Sucidava	**53**
Stockstadt	M 301-308; **5**; **8**; **45**; **46**
Tergeste	AE 1955, 209
Terracina	M 256
Thanadassa	**44**
Tibiscum	M 36
Tomi	SEG 24, 1969, 1063
Tropaeum Traiani	M 12
Turris Libisonis	M 257
Ulpiana	Spomenik Belgrad 71, 322; AE 1966, 340
Vetera	M 345
Vicus Quintionis	AE 1956, 210
Villa Nova	M 247
Virunum	M 129-143
Vitalj	M 58
Voreda	M 270
Vrlika	M 57
Windischgratz	M 144
Zugmantel	M 336-341